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# HISTORICAL COLLECTION



COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCHES

MADE BY THE

## Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society

"29" Pt. 2

VOL. XXIX.



BY AUTHORITY

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## PART II

### 1900

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# MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL MEETING JUNE 5 AND 6, 1900.

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The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society convened in the house of representatives in the capitol at Lansing, Tuesday, June 5, 1900, at 2 o'clock p. m., standard time.

The meeting was called to order by the president, ex-Gov. Cyrus G. Luce, and the session opened with prayer by Rev. Ernest W. Hunt, followed by the singing of "America" by the audience.

The following officers were present, viz.:

*President*—Cyrus G. Luce, Coldwater.

*Recording and Corresponding Secretary*—Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.

*Treasurer*—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

*Executive Committee*—Dr. Robert C. Kedzie, Agricultural College, and Hon. G. S. Wheeler, Salem.

*Committee of Historians*—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; C. M. Burton, Detroit; A. H. Owens, Lennon; Judge John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids; Hon. E. W. Barber, Jackson.

*Vice Presidents*—C. B. Stebbins, of Ingham county; Albert F. Morehouse, of Portland; Alonzo H. Owens, of Shiawassee.

Members of the society who were present were: Judge Champlin, M. D. Osband, Rev. R. C. Crawford, Grand Rapids; Judge Baldwin, Pontiac; Mrs. Nathan Judson, F. M. Cowles, Dr. W. H. Haze, Lansing; Calvin H. Starr, Litchfield; Wm. Heartt, Caro, and others.

Letters of regret were received from R. Hayward, Eaton Rapids; C. W. Barber, Howell; Peter White, Marquette; Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey; Very Rev. Frank A. O'Brien, Kalamazoo; Helen W. Farrand, vice president St. Clair county; J. M. Norton, Rochester; Curran White, Chelsea;

Charles W. Darling, secretary Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.; Wm. H. Harrison, Kalamazoo, and G. P. Doan, Mendon.

Mr. Hayward writes as follows:

"Another year has rolled around, and I had felt almost sure I could meet with you this year, but have to send my regrets instead. I have lived in Michigan continuously for 70 years on the 28th of May, have one brother (Dr. Abner Hayward, Mt. Clemens) who has been here the same length of time. We can truly say we know something of pioneer times in Michigan. My health is fairly good, and I work nearly every day at my trade. I have lived 63 years of my life within 16 miles of Lansing. I would like very much to know how many there are in Michigan who can make the same, or better, showing of continuance in the state.

"With much respect for the pioneers of Michigan, I am,

"Very respectfully,

"R. HAYWARD,

"Now of Eaton Rapids."

After the opening exercises President Luce read his address, in which he reviewed the work of the year, the needs and requirements of the society, closing with a touching tribute to the late efficient secretary, Geo. H. Greene.

The reports of the recording and corresponding secretary and treasurer were then read and, on motion, each was accepted and adopted and placed on file.

L. D. Watkins, as chairman of the committee of historians, reported the work done by the committee during the year. A new volume of historical sketches had been added to the collection, and material for volume twenty-nine had been collected and awaited funds for publication. The urgent needs of an index to the volumes already in print was set forth, the committee deeming it "not creditable to the state to send to other states, in exchange, our historical editions without an accompanying index."

Report of the memorial committee was then given by the vice presidents in person or by written reports read by the secretary, the following counties reporting:

Barry, Mrs. S. E. Striker; Calhoun, H. S. Smith; Clinton, Ralph Watson; Eaton, Esek Pray; Ingham, C. B. Stebbins; Ionia, Albert F. Morehouse; Kalamazoo, Henry Bishop; Kent, W. N. Cook; Lenawee, Benj. L. Baxter; Macomb, George H. Cannon; Oakland, John M. Norton;

Shiawassee, A. H. Owens; St. Joseph, Calvin H. Starr; Tuscola, W. A. Heartt; Washtenaw, M. D. Osband.

Mrs. Ernest W. Hunt then rendered a vocal solo, after which the meeting adjourned to 7:30 o'clock p. m.

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#### TUESDAY EVENING.

The society met pursuant to adjournment at 7:30 o'clock p. m., and was called to order by the president. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. G. D. Chase, followed by music.

On motion that a committee of three be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the president appointed the following committee: A. F. Morehouse, L. D. Watkins and H. B. Smith. This committee was requested to meet Wednesday morning before the beginning of the session.

Owing to the absence of Mr. C. J. Thorpe, his paper, "Pioneer Amusements," was not presented, consequently Gen. B. M. Cutcheon, of Grand Rapids, read the first paper of the session, entitled "Log Cabin Days and Log Cabin People." This was followed by the song, "Kathleen Mavourneen," sung by Mr. J. W. Wagenvoord.

Mrs. Nathan Judson read a paper on the "Life of Gen. John R. Williams," prepared by Lieut. J. R. Williams.

Mrs. E. W. Hunt sang the "Sweetest Story Ever Told," after which Mr. Silas W. Farmer, of Detroit, read an instructive paper on the "Rule of Governors and Judges." Owing to previous arrangements, Mr. Farmer was not at liberty to permit the paper to appear in the historical collections.

Five-minute speeches were then called for, and responded to by Rev. R. C. Crawford, Mr. Morehouse, Mr. Watson and Gen. Cutcheon. Mr. Crawford said he was of that log cabin period. He was born in a log cabin; he first went to school in a log cabin; he danced his first dance in a log cabin; he preached his first sermon in a log cabin, and his family altar was first erected in a log cabin. It had been log cabin days with him right along down for many years. He spoke of the rate bill for school expenses, and recited an original poem, entitled "Michigan." Judge Baldwin was called for, but excused himself from talking.

Mr. Smith, of Calhoun, read memorials for John F. Hinman, vice president of the county, and others.

Mr. J. W. Wagenvoord sang "Ben Bolt," and the meeting adjourned to Wednesday morning at 9:30 o'clock.

## WEDNESDAY MORNING.

The meeting was called to order by the president and opened with prayer by Rev. Wm. H. Haze, followed by music by the Industrial School band.

Mrs. Nathan Judson read a "Memorial of Geo. H. Greene," which was followed by remarks on the late secretary by several members.

Mrs. Van Rosenberg rendered a vocal solo, "Annie Laurie."

Mr. C. W. Garfield, of Grand Rapids, read a paper on the "Life of T. T. Lyon," and announced that a more exhaustive paper on the life of Mr. Lyon would be published in a future volume of the Pioneer and Historical Collections.

Mr. Melvin D. Osband read a paper on "Michigan Indians."

The Industrial School band furnished two fine musical selections.

Mr. C. F. Schneider, chief of the weather bureau of Michigan, read a paper entitled "The Weather Bureau Historically and Practically Considered."

The president then appointed Hon. E. W. Barber to draft a memorial resolution on Hon. O. M. Barnes, late chairman of the executive committee. He also called a meeting for 1:30 o'clock of the historical and executive committees. The meeting then adjourned to 2 o'clock p. m.

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WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The society met promptly at 2 o'clock and was called to order by President Luce. Rev. Crawford opened the program with prayer, and Mrs. C. P. Black furnished a vocal solo.

The committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year submitted the following report, which was adopted:

*To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:*

Your committee selected to nominate officers for the year 1900-01 respectfully report the following:

*For President*—Hon. C. G. Luce, Coldwater.

*Recording and Corresponding Secretary*—Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.

*Treasurer*—Benj. F. Davis, Lansing.

*Executive Committee*—Dr. Robert C. Kedzie, Agricultural College; Brad Hayes, North Plains; Judge John W. Champlin, Grand Rapids.

*Committee of Historians*—L. D. Watkins, Manchester; C. M. Burton,

Detroit; A. H. Owens, Lennon; E. W. Barber, Jackson; H. B. Smith, Marengo; L. D. Kelsey, Calhoun county.

One vice president from each county was also elected, as follows:

*Allegan*—Don C. Henderson, Allegan.

*Barry*—Mrs. Sarah E. Striker, Hastings.

*Bay*—Sanford M. Green, Bay City.

*Branch*—Harvey Haynes, Coldwater.

*Calhoun*—H. S. North.

*Clare*—Henry Woodruff, Farwell.

*Crawford*—Dr. Oscar Palmer, Grayling.

*Eaton*—Esek Pray, Dimondale.

*Emmet*—Isaac D. Toll, Petoskey.

*Grand Traverse*—

*Gratiot*—William S. Turck, Alma.

*Hillsdale*—Calvin H. Starr, Litchfield.

*Houghton*—Thos. B. Dunstan, Houghton.

*Ingham*—John J. Bush, Lansing.

*Ionia*—Albert F. Morehouse, Portland.

*Iosco*—H. C. King, Oscoda.

*Isabella*—John E. Day, Mt. Pleasant.

*Jackson*—Josiah Frost, Jackson.

*Kalamazoo*—Henry Bishop, Kalamazoo.

*Kent*.—Wm. N. Cook, Grand Rapids.

*Lapeer*—John Wright, Lapeer.

*Lenawee*—Benj. L. Baxter, Tecumseh.

*Livingston*—Chas. W. Barber, Howell.

*Macomb*—George H. Cannon, Washington.

*Manistee*—T. J. Ramsdell, Manistee.

*Marquette*—Peter White, Marquette.

*Menominee*—James A. Crozier, Menominee.

*Monroe*—John Davis, Monroe.

*Montcalm*—Joseph P. Shoemaker, Amsden.

*Oakland*—John M. Norton, Rochester.

*Oceana*—Enoch T. Mugford, Hart.

*Otsego*—Chas. F. Davis, Elmira.

*Saginaw*—Chas. W. Grant, Saginaw E. S.

*Shiawassee*—Alonzo H. Owens, Lennon.

*St. Clair*—Mrs. Helen W. Farrand, Port Huron.

*St. Joseph*—Thos. G. Greene, Centerville.

*Tuscola*—Wm. A. Heartt, Caro.

*Washtenaw*—J. Q. A. Sessions, Ann Arbor.

*Wayne*—Fred Carlisle, Detroit.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE,

L. D. WATKINS,

H. B. Smith,

Committee.

The secretary was instructed to notify the vice presidents of their election.

Hon. James W. Turner, of Owosso, read a paper on "Pioneer Days." This was followed by a song by Mrs. C. P. Black. Mr. Cooke then made a five-minute speech.

Hon. E. W. Barber read a paper entitled "Beginnings of Eaton County: Its Earliest Settlements and Settlers." Following Mr. Barber's reading, Mr. C. M. Burton read a paper on the "Life of Judge Woodward," and he was followed by music, a vocal solo by Mrs. Hunt, after which Mr. Barber presented the following resolution on the death of Hon. O. M. Barnes, and moved its adoption, which was unanimously agreed to:

Since the last annual meeting of this society, Hon. Orlando M. Barnes of Lansing, for many years one of its most useful members, has passed away. His counsel and advice were often sought by its officers and committees, and were freely given. At the time of his death, November 11, 1899, he was a member of the executive committee. One of his last official acts was an examination of the law and drafting a resolution to fill the vacancy in the office of secretary occasioned by the death of the worthy and lamented George H. Greene, and the fortunate appointment of Mrs. Mary C. Spencer as his successor. Realizing the loss of a wise advisor, and member of its executive committee, which this society has sustained in the departure of Mr. Barnes to another life, the president is hereby requested and authorized to take such action as may be necessary for the preparation of an appropriate memorial of the life and services of Mr. Barnes, to be presented at the next annual meeting and published in a volume of the collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

A few brief speeches were heard, "Auld Lang Syne" was sung, and Rev. Dr. Haze pronounced the benediction, when the meeting adjourned.

## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

BY EX-GOV. C. G. LUCE.

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is said that the closing years of the centuries that have come and gone have been years of strife, conflict and wars, and everything now indicates that this will furnish no exception to the rule.

The morning and evening papers furnish us with vivid reports of conflicts in Africa, and in the islands of the seas, and there are numerous prophecies of wars to come in other lands. Seldom has the public attention been so absorbed by corrupt developments in states and territories within our own borders. And now, during all this excitement, we meet in a quiet way to celebrate and record the triumphs and victories of peace.

In reading history or current events, we are sometimes almost forced to believe that the lives of men and nations have been devoted to the destruction of life and property. It requires meetings of this character to dispel this illusion.

A careful study of the life struggles and heroic achievements of the pioneers in their conflicts with nature, and to overcome obstacles, will convince the diligent student that the forces behind the great advance made have worked out their brilliant results through peaceful means.

The world involuntarily worships heroes. We go wild over illustrations of courage—physical, mental and moral. This is just as true in a republic as in a monarchy. We erect monuments to perpetuate in the public mind in this and other generations, on the battle fields of Gettysburg and Chattanooga, the heroic deeds performed by every soldier, from Gen. Meade and Gen. Thomas to the most humble of men that carried the muskets. This is right and proper. It is prompted by the patriotic reverence of our people. But it is equally true that those who planted homes, churches, school houses, and endured privations, hardships and struggles with poverty on many occasions, are entitled to something of the same recognition and reverence that we so cheerfully and gladly accord to the soldiers. It is for the purpose of doing something in this line that this organization was created and is maintained.

It is more than one hundred years since the close of the revolutionary war, yet it kindles our patriotism when, on the fourth of July, the declaration of independence is read and the orator reviews the old story of

the struggle for liberty; and the same is true on memorial day, when the mighty achievements of Lincoln and his brave army are recounted. Volumes upon volumes have been written and published giving the history in detail of these great struggles.

I may not be able to make the application of these facts to the case in hand as clearly as I desire, but the real pioneers, who laid the foundation broad and deep for posterity to enjoy, are fast passing away. This is the only organized association provided to gather and publish their triumphs. In the interest of posterity their victories have been important. If research and publication of results is to be continued, it must be done, or at least more of it done, by those who come after the real pioneers.

The question has given me much anxiety. How to arrest and retain the interest of these younger people, and of those who have come to this from other states, is to my mind yet an unsolved problem.

In perusing the list of members of this society, this idea has been forcibly impressed upon my mind by the fact that nearly all the early workers have gone to their reward. All the presidents and secretaries that have filled these positions, except the present incumbents, are numbered in the list.

If we interest the present and coming generations, I am strongly impressed with the fact that we must make its proceedings more and more historical. The name given at the start was Pioneer and Historical, and, while the first clause of the title must never be forgotten, yet we must enlarge upon the record and extend it. In nearly every township, and certainly every county in the entire state, events have occurred worth preserving. It will cost time and effort to find writers who will present these in such form as will interest the reader.

In publishing the twenty-eighth volume, just out, a great effort has been made to secure material that shall harmonize with these suggestions.

But while historical events have been published in each of the twenty-eight volumes, yet only a small share of those that may be made interesting have appeared in print. Ample provisions are made for the distribution of the volumes when printed. The law provides that they shall become the property of the state, and they are held for sale either in single volumes or the entire set. When sold the money received for them belongs to the state, but a greater portion of them are—under the law—given to societies, clubs or organizations that have an established library. Large numbers of the books have been sent out during the last year to such libraries. The legislature provided for a reprint of volumes one



and two, so that, when this shall have been completed, full sets can be supplied to all who desire them.

The society has received from the state to aid it in publishing these books, and to defray some other expenses connected with the annual meetings and preparations therefor, appropriations of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred dollars. None of the officers receive any compensation whatever. Labor performed during the sessions and out of it is a gratuitous contribution to what we believe to be the general good.

The membership fee is one dollar, and this constitutes one a member for life. During two of the last four years we have received no money from the state, and for two years fifteen hundred dollars annually, from a sense of duty. I am a thorough-going economist in the expenditure of public money; I would not ask a dollar from the state or localities that I did not firmly believe would, in some way, make a return to the public for the expenditure. In my personal affairs I have been compelled to practice a good degree of economy, hence a waste of money in any form is a grave offense in my mind.

But if this Pioneer and Historical Society is to live on, and discharge the varied duties which it is prepared to do, it must have more money from the public to fully equip it for active duty; to prepare material and publish a book worthy of its purpose and mission will require an annual appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars, and it certainly ought not to undertake the full task with less than two thousand dollars each year.

I have thought it right and proper to say this here and now. In some localities county pioneer societies are doing praiseworthy work. In a few counties the annual meeting of the county society furnishes the great day of the year, but in the greater portion of the state, with the passing away of the pioneers, interest has abated, and the county societies have largely dropped out of existence. They had no general and extensive plan for publication of their proceedings, and this adds an important reason for continuing the existence of this state institution.

At this meeting, as at all others in recent years, a long list of active workers who have passed away will be presented. None will be more keenly missed than our long time secretary, Geo. H. Greene. For several years his ambition was for the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. He lived for it, wrought for it, prayed for it, and believed in it. None have been more vividly impressed with these truths than those who have served by his side as presidents during his incumbency of the secretary's office.

## REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY.

*Lansing, June 5, 1900.**To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:*

Your recording secretary takes pleasure in submitting herewith her annual report for the fiscal year ending with the above date, as follows:

The twenty-fifth annual meeting of this society met in the senate chamber of the capitol June 7, 1899. The printed program was followed with slight changes, with Mrs. Ella Burton Judson acting as secretary pro tem., in the absence of the secretary, Mr. Greene. The proceedings of that meeting and the papers that were read at that time, with many other valuable historical collections, will be found in part one of this volume.

Since last reported, there have been added to this society fifteen members, as follows: Abram Allen, Newell J. Kelsey, Ella Burton Judson, Nathan Judson, Theodore E. Potter, Frederick M. Cowles, Frederick Schneider, Lansing; Mrs. Flora Belding Baldwin, E. W. Jewell, Pontiac; Mary Welling Barber, Jackson; Geo. L. Wheeler, Salem; Thomas Parker, Meridian; Dr. G. K. Johnson, Grand Rapids; N. B. Hayes, North Plains, and John Adams, Portland.

## DONATIONS.

The list received from all sources during the year is as follows:

Kansas Pioneer and Historical Society—"The Mail and Breeze," of Topeka, Kansas, December 8, 1899, containing memoir of Judge Franklin G. Adams, secretary of the Kansas Pioneer and Historical Society.

"Le Canadien," St. Paul, Minn., January 5, 1900.

"Daily Capital," Topeka, Kansas, January 17, 1900, containing twenty-fourth annual report of the meeting of the Kansas State Pioneer and Historical Society.

"Evening Dispatch," Utica, N. Y., February 8, 1900, report of R. R. Y. M. C. A.

"Evening Dispatch," Utica, N. Y., February 14, 1900, containing address of Dr. Robert E. Jones to the Oneida Historical Society.

Albert C. Bates, Hartford, Conn., March, 1900—A journal (or diary) of a Presbyterian minister of Paw Paw, Van Buren county, from January 1, 1853, to February 17, 1856.

"Detroit Free Press," May 20, 1900, containing the story of Frances Slocum, the Indian captive, and her Detroit descendants.

From Oneida, N. Y., May, 1900—Wagner memorial, 1722, 1881.

## COMMITTEE MEETINGS.

The executive committee held a meeting on June 8, 1899, to audit bills of the 1899 meeting.

The president presented a statement showing that \$40 remained in the treasury, and presented a bill of \$16.25 for postage; also a bill of \$8 for music furnished by Miss Berridge, and \$4 for rent of piano of Holmes & Son.

On motion these bills were allowed.

On July 5, 1899, there was a joint meeting of the executive committee and committee of historians. There were present: President Luce, E. W. Barber, A. H. Owens, H. B. Smith, L. D. Watkins, O. M. Barnes and Geo. S. Wheeler.

This meeting was called to fill the office of secretary, made vacant by the death of Secretary Geo. H. Greene. Mrs. Mary C. Spencer was elected secretary. The committee authorized and required the secretary to employ an editor to prepare for publication the proceedings of 1897-98, at a salary not to exceed \$300; the committee of historians to approve the papers and supervise all work.

On motion, the committee of historians was authorized to publish a volume as large as is possible, at an expense not exceeding \$1,000.

The committee of historians met in the pioneer room, Wednesday forenoon, September 27. Present: E. W. Barber, John W. Champlin, A. H. Owens, C. G. Luce, and secretary.

Owing to the absence of the chairman, L. D. Watkins, the committee elected Mr. Barber chairman pro tem.

Moved by Judge Champlin, seconded by Mr. Owens, that the secretary be instructed to proceed with the publication of volume twenty-eight according to specifications presented, the book to be bound in cloth, with white edges, and aluminum lettering outside of cover. Carried. The time was largely spent in looking over and cutting down the prepared copy, which has been made necessary in order to get the matter in one volume. The committee also discussed the next annual meeting of the society and approved the secretary's plan of beginning at once to prepare for the same. Several names were suggested for authors of papers to be prepared for said meeting.

Meeting adjourned subject to call of president.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

MARY C. SPENCER,  
Recording Secretary.

## REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

*Lansing, June 5, 1900.*

*To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:*

I herewith submit the report for the fiscal year ending with the above date, as follows:

In July of last year I was elected to the responsible office of secretary of this society, and at once entered into the work which had been so ably carried on by my predecessor. I at once obtained prices and specifications for volume twenty-eight of collections, as instructed by your joint committee, and pushed the work to completion. Volume twenty-eight is now ready for distribution and is replete with valuable historical matter. Early in the year I also entered into correspondence with parties relative to papers for the meeting of 1900, and succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations, as I trust our program will show.

While the mortuary list of members is not as long as of some past years, it contains several of our most influential members, whose devotion to the interests of the society was a leading characteristic of their lives, and these men will be sadly missed. The full list, so far as I have been able to secure statistics, is as follows:

No.	Name.	Residence.	Born.	Died.	Age.	Came to Michigan.
930	Abram Allen.....	Lansing.....	June 18, 1817..	Oct. 2, 1899...	82	1855
46	O. M. Barnes.....	Lansing.....	Nov. 21, 1824..	Nov. 11, 1899..	75	1837
369	Geo. H. Greene.....	Lansing.....	Oct. 12, 1836..	June 25, 1899..	63	1838
625	John F. Hinman.....	Battle Creek....	March 17, 1816	Feb. 7, 1900...	83	1838
513	Theodatus T. Lyon.....	South Haven...	Jan. 23, 1818..	Feb. 5, 1900...	87	1828
43	Alfred L. Millard...	Adrian.....	March 1, 1814..	Jan. 11, 1900..	86	.....
602	James Monroe.....	Kalamazoo.....	Dec. 25, 1819..	July 16, 1899..	79	1837
413	D. G. Robinson.....	Hastings.....	Jan. 4, 1811...	July 19, 1899..	88	1848
657	Erastus M. Stevens.....	Caseville.....	March 6, 1822..	June 1, 1899...	77	1832

George H. Greene, who died in less than a month after the last annual meeting, had been secretary of the Pioneer and Historical Society twenty years and rendered valuable services, the loss of which will be seriously felt. Hon. O. M. Barnes was treasurer of the society as early as 1875,

and again in 1878, and was chairman of the executive committee at the time of his death. John F. Hinman and Erastus M. Stevens were, for many years, vice presidents and took a great deal of interest and pleasure in furnishing annual memorial reports from their respective counties. Perhaps no one of the deceased members was more widely known throughout the state than T. T. Lyon, who died in February of the present year.

The society will miss these men.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY C. SPENCER,

Corresponding Secretary.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

*Lansing, June 5, 1900.*

*To the Officers and Members of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society:*

I herewith submit my annual report, as follows:

Benj. F. Davis, treasurer, in account with the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 7, 1899, to June 5, 1900:

### RECEIPTS.

To balance on hand June 7, 1899.....	\$10 37
To amount received from membership fees.....	13 00
	<hr/>
	\$53 37

### APPROPRIATION FOR 1899.

Amount on hand June 7, 1899, in the state treasury, of the appropriation made by act No. 226 of the public acts of 1899.. \$1,500 00

Disbursed as follows:

Expenses of annual meeting, 1899.....	\$28 25
Postage .....	15 00
Stationery .....	1 00
Expenses of committee of historians.....	46 12
Expenses of proof reading, indexing, etc.....	330 00
Printing volume twenty-eight and binding 2,000 copies .....	972 02
Music .....	13 00
Expenses of annual meeting, 1900.....	94 61
	<hr/>
	\$1,500 00

B. F. DAVIS,

Treasurer.

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF HISTORIANS.

The committee of historians of the Pioneer Society of the state of Michigan would respectfully report: That since the last annual meeting of the society we have again taken up the publication of the accumulated historical material that, for lack of funds caused by the veto of our appropriation bill by Gov. Pingree, had not been published. The last legislature appropriated \$1,500 for regular use, and authorized the re-publication of volumes one and two, to be paid for from the general fund. These two numbers had been so nearly exhausted that they could not be furnished when full sets were ordered.

There have been published twenty-eight volumes, and there is no general index. This should be compiled and published as soon as possible, and should include the first twenty-five volumes. It is not creditable to the state to send to other states in exchange our historical editions without an accompanying index. We have material for volume twenty-nine, in which will be published a map of upper and lower Michigan, showing the location of Indian trails, villages, burial grounds, gardens, cornfields and wayside camping grounds. Accompanying the maps will be published a large number of papers illustrating the maps and the history of this interesting race; a work of almost a lifetime, aided by a great number of prominent pioneers from whom only could such information be obtained.

Only a very few of our early pioneers are left, and they have worked faithfully to give future generations the history of our state from time of settlement to the present time, all without one dollar's compensation. Soon other and later pioneers will have to take up the work. Our history is making fast.

All of which is respectfully submitted by the committee.

L. D. WATKINS, Chairman, Manchester.

C. M. BURTON, Detroit.

A. H. OWENS, Lennon.

JOHN W. CHAMPLIN, Grand Rapids.

E. W. BARBER, Jackson.

## REPORT OF MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

## BARRY COUNTY.

BY MRS. S. E. STRIKER.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Altolf, Mrs. Julia.....		May 24, 1900..	70	
Andrews, John.....		April 22, 1900	77	
Bailey, David.....	Cedar Creek.....	June 28, 1899..	78	A resident of Michigan 35 years.
Barber, Welden T.....	Hickory Corners.....	July 25, 1899..	76	A resident of the county 50 years.
Barnaby, Albert.....	Hastings.....	Sept. 16, 1899..	78	
Beach, Asahel.....	Johnstown.....	Dec. 16, 1899..	66	A resident of Johnstown 45 years.
Booram, Elizabeth.....		Feb. 22, 1900..	74	
Berguman, Mrs. H.....	Hastings.....	Jan. 25, 1900..	56	A pioneer of Hope township.
Bump, Mrs. Joanna.....	Carlton.....	Feb. 17, 1900..	76	She had lived there about 60 years.
Burnett, Harvey J.....	Nashville.....	Sept. 26, 1899..	57	A veteran of '61.
Bush, Timothy M.....	Hastings tp.....	Feb. 23, 1900..	79	A pioneer of the township.
Craig, John.....		Feb. 16, 1900..	84	A pioneer of Rutland.
Crank, Mrs. Lucy.....	Hastings.....	March 2, 1900..	63	
Clemence, Thos.....	Baltimore.....	Nov. 24, 1899..	74	
Clemens, Mrs. Nathaniel.....	Baltimore.....	June 9, 1899..	59	A resident of the county many years.
Edmonds, Alex.....	Baltimore.....	Nov. 26, 1899..	57	
Evarts, Daniel H.....	Nashville.....	Oct. 31, 1899..	63	A pioneer of Castleton.
Fowler, Albert E.....	Hastings.....	Oct. 17, 1899..	77	A veteran of '61.
Francis, Geo. W.....	Nashville.....	April 20, 1900..	52	
Fuller, Dr. Reuben.....	Grand Rapids.....	Feb. 11, 1900..	55	A pioneer of Irving township.
Grames, Mrs. Mary T.....	Carlton.....	July 26, 1899..	57	
Hahn, Henrietta.....	Irving.....	Oct. 11, 1899..	78	A native of Prussia, came to Michigan in 1857.
Hampton, Chas. B.....	Hastings.....	Jan. 20, 1900..	53	
Henderson, Robert.....	Rutland.....	Feb. 20, 1900..	73	
Horton, Charles.....	Rutland.....	Aug. 21, 1899..	52	He served 4 years in the civil war.
Hull, Sidney.....	Hastings.....	Sept. 11, 1899..	58	Came to Mich. when a child and settled in Baltimore.
Jordon, Jesse.....	Woodland.....	April 20, 1900..	60	He was the first white child born in Woodland.
Lamont, Lyman.....	Hickory Corners.....	May 8, 1900..	73	
Larabee, C. P.....	Cedar Creek.....	Dec. 23, 1899..	71	Lived there more than 50 years.
Lee, Mrs. Mervin.....	Irving.....	July 19, 1899..	85	One of the earliest settlers of the township.
Lydy, Geo. W.....	Carlton.....	Feb. 3, 1900..	69	
McCartney, Rob't.....	Nashville.....	Aug. 30, 1899..	74	A prominent farmer of Maple Grove.
Newton, Mrs. Maria.....	Hastings.....	March 5, 1900..	54	
Norwood, Robinson.....	Hickory Corners.....	Sept. 19, 1899..	77	
Noyes, Asa B.....	Castleton.....	Jan. 16, 1900..	75	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Odell, Joseph.....	Castleton.....	July 24, 1899..	73	A veteran of the war of '61.
Osborn, Sylvester.....	Castleton.....	Sept. 22, 1899..	72	A resident of the county 30 years.
Payne, Lorenzo W.....	Middleville.....	Oct. 23, 1899..	73	An early pioneer.
Perry, Lucy E.....	Rutland.....	June 3, 1899..	75	A resident of the county 40 years.
Reed, Daniel.....	Hastings.....	May 3, 1900....	73	
Sackett, Dr.....	Prairieville.....	June 12, 1899..	77	He came to the county in the fifties.
Saddler, Franklin.....	Orangeville.....	March 11, 1900..	77	
Scidmore, Jas.....	Soldiers' Home.....	July 6, 1899....	54	
Scoby, Charles.....	Grandville.....	May 5, 1900....	65	
Scott, Alice M.....	Hastings.....	June 14, 1899..	61	A native of Jackson county and sister of Daniel Striker.
Searles, Fitch M.....	Orangeville.....	March 8, 1900..	79	
Shriner, William.....	Hastings.....	Sept. 30, 1899..	80	
Tobias, Ezra.....	Baltimore.....	Oct. 22, 1899..	98	A resident of Baltimore since 1853.
Townsend, Win.....	Hastings.....	Oct. 15, 1899..	90	Was born in Orangeville.
Waters, Emeline.....	Rutland.....	Jan. 11, 1900..	80	
Wheeler, Mrs. Matilda.....	Woodland.....	July 24, 1899..	72	A resident of the county over 50 years.
Whitmore, E. P.....	Middleville.....	July 2, 1899....	70	
Wightman, Russel B.....	Hastings.....	Nov. 25, 1899..	72	A pioneer business man of the city.
Williams, Mrs. Nancy Judd....	Carlton.....	Oct. 30, 1899..	86	Had lived in the county over 40 years.
Wing, Myron.....	Barry.....	July 12, 1899..	62	
Wood, Mrs. Mary.....	Coats Grove.....	March 8, 1900..	79	

**DIAMOND.**—Mrs. Isaac Diamond died at her home in Rutland July 12, 1899.

She was one of the early pioneers of the county, having settled in Yankee Springs with her parents, who moved there from New York, in 1838, when blazed trees were used as landmarks to guide the traveler. Since those early days she was a resident of the county.

**ROBINSON.**—The end of a long, useful and finished life came when Judge David G. Robinson, of Hastings, passed away at the ripe old age of 88 years, 6 months and 8 days.

Blessed with a strong, sturdy constitution, he possessed strong mental faculties up to the very day of his last sickness, and his hair, silvered with age, his daily association with friends and acquaintances, the kindly smile and warm handshake, the true christian life, made his closing years a benediction to both young and old, and his kindly presence will be sadly missed.



Deceased was born in China, Kennebec county, Maine, January 11, 1811, being the eldest of four children of Benjamin and Lydia Robinson. His father was a thrifty, prosperous farmer, a man highly honored and respected in the community where he lived. In 1816 they moved to Vassalborough, where the father died. The early life of Mr. Robinson was not unlike that of the youth of his time—working on the farm in summer and going to the district school in winter. When he had attained the age of 15 years he had received a good common school education, and began a long and honorable business career by clerking in a store for his uncle, which he continued until he reached his majority, when he started in business for himself at St. Alban's, Maine. Here he remained for two years, when he moved to Vassalborough and continued in the mercantile business. Here success crowned his efforts and he was one of the most prominent merchants of the place, the respect of his townsmen being shown in constantly honoring him with official position. At the age of 22 he was elected magistrate, and for six years was one of the selectmen of the town.

Close application to business commenced to tell on his health, and a change of climate and vocation became necessary. Disposing of his interests in Maine he came to the then western wilderness, and purchased 160 acres of land in Hastings township, three miles from the city. Here he remained for eighteen months, clearing off thirty acres of land, building a house, planting an orchard and making many improvements. His experience of roughing it upon a new farm convinced him that a mercantile life was more congenial to his taste and ability, when, in 1849, he moved into the village of Hastings, which at that time numbered but a few families, and entered into partnership with Nathan Barlow, which partnership continued for three years, when Mr. Robinson retired from the firm. He immediately resumed an active business career again, and continued until 1869.

At all times he was for all that went to the upbuilding of the city, and contributed his full share to building the foundation for the prosperity of Hastings and causing it to grow from a hamlet to one of the prosperous and progressive cities of the state.

In December, 1886, he was elected president of the Hastings City bank, and continued in that position up to the time of his death. He was probably the oldest active banker in the state, and performed his duties there up to a week before his death.

In 1833 he was united in marriage to Miss Sarah B. Keith of Vassalborough, Me., a woman of refinement and culture, and to them one child

was born, Anna M., now Mrs. J. P. Roberts of Hastings. Sharing with him all of the joys and sorrows, and all of the privations of pioneer life, the true and faithful wife passed to the great beyond in 1870.

In 1871 Mr. Robinson was again married, to Mrs. Ellen E. Fancher of Somerville, Mass., who survives him, and with whom his closing years were spent in an ideal, happy married life.

In politics the deceased was a lifelong democrat, though not actively taking part in political campaigns. In the early history of the state there were four judicial circuits, the judges of which formed the supreme court. Also in each circuit was a county judge who sat with the judge in the determination of suits at bar, deceased being honored with the position of county judge, from 1850 to 1852, which office gave him the title of "Judge," which has ever since been associated with his name. For many years he also served as supervisor, being elected time and time again, and being invariably elected as chairman of the board.

And I am glad that he has lived thus long,  
And glad that he has gone to his reward,  
Nor do I deem that kindly Nature did him wrong  
Softly to disengage the vital cord  
When his weak hand grew palsied,  
And his eye dark with the mists of age,  
It was his time to die.

**ROGERS.**—Charles A. Rogers, a pioneer of Rutland, died October 4, 1899, aged 55 years.

Deceased had been a resident of the county since 1858, and Hastings City has been his residence since. He early enlisted at the call for troops in 1861, and returned to Rutland after his discharge from the service.

**ROUSH.**—Richard Roush died at his home September 30, 1899, aged 83 years.

He was a native of Ohio, coming to Michigan in an early day, and had been a resident of the county over fifty years. He went out in the sixties with a Michigan regiment to fight for the union, but the length of his time of service is not given. He was one of the early settlers of Freeport.

**RUSSEL.**—Jonathan Russel, a pioneer and veteran of the war of '61, answered to the last roll call June 30, 1899, aged 90 years.

Deceased was born in New Hampshire. He came to Michigan in 1833, and in 1853 settled in Middleville, which place was his home up to the date of his death.

**STRIKER.**—Mrs. Rebecca Striker died at the home of her son, Gilbert Striker, in Baltimore township, January 24, 1900, aged 81 years.

She was the mother of Hon. Daniel Striker, one of Michigan's honored

pioneers. She was born in New York and moved to the territory of Michigan in 1835, and to Barry county, Baltimore township, in 1851, where she afterwards resided. -

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## CALHOUN COUNTY.

BY H. S. SMITH.

**HEWETT.**—Elias Hewett, of Marshall, lost his life in an accident July 4, 1899, aged 83 years.

He was a native of Byron Center, New York, and came to Michigan in 1838. He was the first village recorder of Marshall; was justice of the peace and for many years was engaged in the insurance and real estate business.

**HINMAN.**—John F. Hinman, one of the early settlers of Battle Creek, died in that city February 7, 1900.

John Flavel Hinman was born March 17, 1816, at Castleton, Vt. His ancestors had a prominent part in New England history, fifteen of them, descendants of Sergeant Edward Hinman, having served during the revolutionary war. His great grandfather, Abijah Hinman, and Abijah's son, Wait Hinman, were with General Stark at the battle of Bennington. His grandfather, Adoniram Hinman, was with Ethan Allen in his famous expedition and capture of Ticonderoga, and was also at the execution of Major Andre; he served during the entire seven year's war. His grandfather on his mother's side, Reuben Moulton, kept an inn in Castleton, and entertained Ethan Allen and Seth Warner over Sunday when they were on their way to capture Ticonderoga.

Mr. Hinman's father, Truman H. Hinman, read law with Hon. Chauncey Landon, was quite a celebrated vocalist, and in September, 1814, volunteered with other Vermonters to go to Plattsburg and assist in driving Provost and his army back to Canada.

In Castleton, the deceased received a good academic and business education and came to Michigan in 1838, with his brother Franklin, and O. M. Hyde, former mayor of Detroit, establishing himself in the mercantile trade at Bellevue in connection with his brother, the late B. F. Hinman, under the firm name of B. F. and J. F. Hinman, where they conducted a successful business. In 1845 they opened a branch store in Battle Creek, under the firm name of Hinman & Co., having added to the firm another brother, Henry T. Hinman, who still resides in the city.

Mr. Hinman removed to Battle Creek in 1851, having previously been married to Harriet Elizabeth Hayt, daughter of the late John T. Hayt, then one of the leading citizens of Bellevue and widely known throughout that section of the state. Their wedding occurred on April 23, 1845, the Rev. Alexander Trotter, of Battle Creek, afterwards of Vassar, Mich., officiating. Since his removal to the city, Mr. Hinman was a permanent resident there and until of late years was actively identified with its interests, holding various public positions, among others the directorship of the city schools and for some years after the war for the union, he was federal collector of internal revenue.

In politics, Mr. Hinman was a republican, having been one of the earliest adherents of the party in the city and active in its formation, being afterward a frequent delegate to its county and state conventions. He was in attendance at the first meeting of the republican party, when it was organized "under the oaks" at Jackson, in 1854.

He possessed a clear and strong intellect, was positive in his convictions, and had a readiness of wit and humor which contributed essentially to his rare conversational powers. He had a remarkable memory of facts and dates which made him a conspicuous authority in matters relating to early local history, and his reminiscences of pioneer times were notably interesting and valuable. He was a most useful member of the Michigan Pioneer society, and at various times contributed important items of current and past history to its archives. For many years he was a correspondent of one of the leading Detroit dailies, and many of his more extended communications were noticeable for their pithy expression as well as for the terse information which they contained.

Mr. Hinman's life, since his retirement from an active participation in affairs, has been by no means an idle one. Notwithstanding his advancing years, he has continued to take a deep interest in the stirring events of our time and has been in earnest sympathy with the progressive spirit of the age. His ideas and convictions have been ever on the side of humanity and liberty, and he has lived to see many of his cherished hopes fulfilled. In the nearly half century in which he has been a member of the community he has made a record which will become a creditable and permanent feature of the history of the section.

Mr. Hinman, besides his widow, leaves six children: Capt. Frederick H. Hinman, of Flushing, L. I.; Mrs. Charles A. Ward, of Evanston, Ill.; Mr. Edward C. Hinman, of Battle Creek; Mrs. Harriet Collins, of Chicago; John F. Hinman, Jr., of California, and Miss Clara Hinman of Battle Creek. He also leaves one brother, Henry T. Hinman, mentioned above, and an aged sister, Miss Martha Hinman of the city.

**MERRIFIELD.**—Lewis Merrifield, one of Tekonsha's oldest residents, died March 10, 1900, at the advanced age of 86 years.

Deceased was born in New York in 1814, and came into the territory of Michigan in 1833, driving the entire distance with an ox team. In 1835 he located on the present site of Tekonsha. There was not a printing press within one hundred miles of the township, and in 1836, as township clerk, he wrote with a quill pen, all the ballots used at the election. The next year he and Cyrus Hewett, of Marshall, surveyed the land where now stands the city of Lansing. The nearest house was many miles distant, and the surveyors were, at one time, thirty-six hours without food.

Mrs. Merrifield died but four days before her husband. The aged couple spent 61 years of wedded life together, and both had been constant residents of Tekonsha since first locating there in the thirties.

**PARSONS.**—J. M. Parsons died June 1, 1900, aged 90 years.

Mr. Parsons was born in West Springfield, Mass., September 10, 1810. When a young man twenty-four years of age he came to Michigan and located in Homer. The next year he removed to Marshall and continued to reside there during all the years of his life that followed. In 1835 he opened a general store. It is related that many times he stood between the settlers and starvation by standing in line many hours to get twenty-five pounds of flour for a family for which he paid \$2.50. No one person could have more than twenty-five pounds at one time.

In 1840 he served as postmaster under William Henry Harrison. The latter years he was engaged in the real estate and insurance business.

**SOULE.**—Mrs. Irene Soule died May 31, 1900, at the extreme old age of 93 years.

Irene Blodget was born in Georgia, Vt., in 1807. When 21 years of age she removed with her parents to the state of New York. Two years later she married Milo Soule, and in 1835 they came to Michigan with other pioneers, coming through Canada; the journey consuming three weeks time. They located in Marengo, where they spent all the after years of life. When they located their home the wild Indians were their nearest neighbors. Many years ago the last of them passed away; other settlers came and went and Mrs. Soule remained to witness the changes time wrought and to see all the early settlers pass to the other shore.

Mr. Soule died April 2, 1891, and since then she "only waited for the summons" which came to her on that May morning of the closing century.

## CLINTON COUNTY.

BY RALPH WATSON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Auten, Mrs. Luceba .....	St. Johns.....	April 12, 1900.	53	
Alexander, Mrs. Mary J.....	Wacousta.....	Feb. 23, 1900..	63	An old resident of Eagle.
Beach, Mrs. Elizabeth A.....	Crystal.....	Feb. 7, 1900...	72	Came to Michigan in 1856.
Reckwith, Mrs. J. W.....	Victor.....	Dec. 25, 1899..	80	
Carter, Mrs. Jane.....	Elsie.....	Oct. 22, 1899..	81	
Cradle, Mrs. Sally M.....	Olive.....	May 16, 1900..	79	She came to the state in the fifties.
Dennis, Mrs. Chas. J.....	Elsie.....	April 13, 1900.	59	
Flah, Stephen.....	St. Johns.....	March 15, 1900	104	
Gorham, Mrs. Malissa.....	Olive.....	May 7, 1900...	85	
Harlock, Mrs. L. J.....	Pompeo.....	Jan. 20, 1900..		
Hayes, Lewis.....	Elsie.....	Dec. 16, 1899..	63	A veteran of the civil war, enlisting in 1864 and serving till the end of the struggle.
Hehl, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	Westphalia.....	April 7, 1900..	78	A long time resident of the township.
Knapp, Mrs. Ida Hale.....	Olive.....	Feb. 18, 1900..	48	A native of the county.
Lowell, Cassin.....		Jan. 23, 1900..	83	
Morrill, Mrs. L.....	St. Johns.....	March 10, 1900	81	A resident of St. Johns since the early sixties.
Mattison, Mrs. Ann S.....	St. Johns.....	May 5, 1900...	81	
Palmer, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	Washington.....	March 6, 1900.	70	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Parker, Wm.....	Ovid.....	April 10, 1900.	79	
Potter, Willard M.....	St. Johns.....	March 5, 1900.	48	
Reed, Allen J.....	Essex.....	May 2, 1900....	67	
Rowell, Mrs. Stephen.....	Duplain.....	Jan. 22, 1900..	62	She came to Michigan in 1859.
Russell, Alfred.....	Washington.....	Feb. 8, 1900...	72	A pioneer of the county.
Sanford, Edwin R.....	Owosso.....	March 29, 1900	63	He was engaged in the shoe business in St. Johns.
Sherman, Erving.....	St. Johns.....	April 29, 1900.	48	Came to Michigan in 1864.
Sias, Holland.....	South Riley.....	Feb. 14, 1900..	75	
Stevens, Mrs. Eveline.....	Eureka.....	Jan. 9, 1900...	62	Came to Michigan in 1853.
Thomas, Rev. Chas. G.....	St. Johns.....	Jan. —, 1900...	55	An M. E. pastor, dropped dead in his pulpit in Kalamazoo.
Toan, Oliver.....	Portland.....	Dec. 14, 1899..	58	Was a native of the township.
VanAuken, Jacob.....	DeWitt.....	March 19, 1900	77	
Wilman, Mrs. Geo.....	Olive.....	Feb. 6, 1900...	76	She located in the state when it was a vast wilderness.
Wyckoff, John.....	St. Johns.....	Jan. 21, 1900..	64	

**BASSETT.**—Rev. P. C. Bassett, pioneer preacher, died April 25, 1900, aged 79 years.

Mr. Bassett was born in Otsego county, New York, February 4, 1821, and resided in central and western New York until 1843, when he located in Ohio. He joined the Baptist church at the age of sixteen, but not until 1845 did he commence to preach the gospel. Three years later he came to Michigan and was ordained that year at Parshallville, Livingston county. He was pastor of the Baptist churches at Parshallville, Flushing, Ovid, Woodland and Shepardsville. He organized the church at Ovid, building the first house of worship at that place. He was also the organizer of churches at Nashville and Vermontville. The past eight years he spent in Detroit, preaching at the various mission houses whenever he was able. The funeral services were held at the home in Detroit, and the body was brought to Ovid for interment in Maple Grove cemetery.

**BLIZZARD.**—William Blizzard, one of the well-known pioneers of Olive township, died at his home February 14, 1900, aged 78 years.

The subject of this sketch was born in Wiltshire, England, January 15, 1822. He married Catharine Bradfield, to whom one child was born. Mrs. Blizzard only survived the birth of her child six months.

Mr. Blizzard then married Charlotte Clements and came direct to America, settling in Medina county, Ohio, in 1851. In 1855 he came to Olive and settled on the farm where he died. The farm was then a wilderness, but by his industry was soon modeled into a comfortable home. Six children were the result of the second marriage, three of whom have passed away. His second wife died May 11, 1872. In May, 1873, he married Mrs. Margaret Bowman. Two children were born to them. He is survived by a widow, six children, eight grandchildren, one brother and two sisters. During the civil war Mr. Blizzard was drafted, but circumstances forbade his going, so he hired a substitute to go in his place.

**BRAY.**—Israel M. Bray, one of the pioneers of Clinton county, died January 3, 1900, and would have been seventy years of age the next April. He was born in Dumfries, Canada, and in 1854 was united in marriage to Charlotte Wood, and the young couple moved into the wilds of Michigan, and settled in a wilderness that was afterwards called Bengal township. Together they struggled and labored to build a home and acquire a competence for themselves and their children. The nearest mill was at DeWitt, twelve miles away, and St. Johns was then only a cross road.

Seven children were born to this union, of which five are still living. In 1866 the wife of his early manhood died, leaving the helpless father to struggle on with his family. In 1868 Mr. Bray was married to Mary A. Nelson, and three children were born to them, two of whom are living. The third child died in infancy. In 1894 the second wife passed away, leaving Mr. Bray in the declining years of his life alone. It was his stamp of men who made possible the civilization of today in this and other western states, and their memories will be held in more sacred regard for the sacrifice which they underwent.

**Buck.**—Pembroke S. Buck, well and favorably known to the people of St. Johns and the southwestern portion of the county, died at his home in that village, May 6, 1900, of paralysis, in his 66th year. He is survived by a widow and two sons, Dr. R. C. and F. P. Buck, the former a well-schooled physician and surgeon, and the latter principal of St. Johns high school.

The deceased was born at Conneaut, Ohio, and while still quite young moved with his parents to Farmington, Oakland county, Michigan. In the year 1860 he entered the state normal, and before he had finished his second year in that institution he enlisted in the war of the rebellion, and was attached to the Twenty-third Michigan Infantry, and served three years with Gen. Thomas in the western department, remaining to the close of the war, when he returned home and finally settled in the township of Bengal, where, in 1867, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary E. Pope, who survives him. Mr. Buck was a member of the first Congregational church of St. Johns, also of Charles E. Garrison Post, G. A. R.

**BURDICK.**—Alexander Burdick was born in Shelby, Orleans county, New York, February 27, 1817, and died at his home in Lebanon, Clinton county, February 12, 1900. He grew to manhood in his native town, and when 24 years old removed to Crawford county, Ohio. There he was married to Mary Jane Dravenstatte, October 1, 1842. In 1850 they removed to Muskegon county, Michigan, and settled at Casnovia, where a farm was made from the wilderness, amidst hardships, pioneer struggles and privation. In 1865 the family settled in Lebanon, where he resided until his death, except a short residence in Fowler. His wife preceded him to the grave only a few months. He leaves five children.

**CHADWICK.**—Lorenzo D. Chadwick was born in Steuben county, New York, April 28, 1824. His parents came to Michigan when he was only a small boy and located in the township of Scio, Washtenaw county.



January 30, 1850, he was married to Cordelia Daniells, of Dexter, Michigan. The first few years after his marriage he worked at the blacksmith trade in Podunk and Williamston. In the year 1857 he moved to the township of Olive, where he has since resided. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in Company D, Twenty-third Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and served until the close of the rebellion. His wife died February 10, 1883, and since that time he has lived with his eldest son, E. M. Chadwick. To them were born seven children, five daughters and two sons. The two sons and one daughter, with an aged sister, survive him. He died May 14, 1900, of la grippe, aged 76 years.

**HARR.**—John Harr, aged 58 years, died, it is supposed, of cancer, New Year's eve, and the death of the father and husband so shocked the wife and mother, Helena Harr, that she died the next forenoon at about 11 o'clock of heart failure. The father died the last of the year 1899 and the mother the first of the year 1900. They leave five children. Two of the children are married and the other three are left alone, the youngest being but five years old.

**HOLLISTER.**—Charles Edward Hollister, well-known as county surveyor and for the keen interest he had always manifested in educational matters in the county, died at his home in Victor township Wednesday, April 11, 1900, in his 61st year, of pneumonia coupled with other physical troubles.

The parental grandfather of the subject of this sketch, Joseph Hollister, was one of the patriots of the revolution, and was a direct descendant of the puritan governor of Connecticut in 1801, and having chosen the study and practice of medicine as a profession, attained some distinction as a practitioner.

Charles E., of whom we now write, whose birth occurred in Victor, Ontario county, New York, in 1839, was but seven years of age when his parents moved to Michigan, and in 1846 entered from the government the land still occupied by them. The country was still in a primitive condition, and the wide practice of Dr. Hollister called him through many portions of the county undisturbed by the axe of the pioneer. In 1856 he was chosen to the senate of the state, and served two years in that official capacity, Charles E. meanwhile remaining upon the farm and engaging in labor incident to farming pursuits, the winter affording opportunities for education. He entered the agricultural college at Lansing, May 17, 1859, at the opening of that institution of learning, and after a thorough course, involving four years of study, graduated

with the first class. The sons proved worthy of their patriot sires by enlisting in the armies gathered by our nation in the days of the rebellion, the eldest, Oliver, enlisting in the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, and dying in the hospital of disease contracted in McClellan's Virginia campaign, leaving a widow and three children. Charles E. joined an independent company of engineers, raised by Major Gen. J. C. Fremont for his Missouri campaign, which company was discharged after about five months' service. The younger brother, Ralph H., enlisted in the Eleventh Michigan Cavalry, and was honorably discharged at the close of the war. Charles E. was in 1878 elected county surveyor, and has been honored with numerous local offices, including those of school inspector for a long series of years and superintendent of schools. In 1872 he received from the United States engineer officer in charge (First Lieutenant E. A. Woodruff) an appointment as a superintendent in the removal of the celebrated Red river raft in the northwestern part of Louisiana, a position which he held for about eighteen months and until the channel was cleared. Mr. Hollister was a republican in politics, and a Congregationalist in religion.

**HUNTER.**—George Graham Hunter was born in London, England, October 20, 1815, and died at his home near Ovid, February 15, 1900. In 1835 he came to Simcoe, Ontario, where he was married in 1842 to Harriet Coombs, who departed this life in 1895. Three children were born to them, one of whom, Wm. G., still lives. In 1858 Mr. Hunter removed with his family to Ovid, Mich., where he spent the remainder of his life, being one of the pioneers of Ovid township. He is survived by one brother and one sister, Wm. and Charlotte M. Hunter, both of whom reside in London, England.

**LEMM.**—V. W. Lemm was born January 30, 1844, at Norvell, Jackson county, Michigan. He came to Clinton county with his parents when quite young, having lived on the same farm in Rew township for about forty years. He enrolled as private of Company H, Twenty-fourth Regiment of Michigan Volunteers, the 9th day of August, 1862. He was wounded at Gettysburg the 1st day of July, 1863, receiving two gun shot wounds from which he suffered more or less, and at last causing nervous prostration. He died April 18 at Kalamazoo, where he had been taken for treatment. He leaves a widow and one brother, James, of Williamston.

**MARVIN.**—Captain George F. Marvin, a resident of the county for many years and one of the well-known capitalists of St. Johns, died at his home at 309 Higham street, March 14, 1900, aged 66 years.

Captain Marvin was well-known, not only in St. Johns, but through Greenbush and the northern part of the county, where he resided on a farm. Ten or twelve years previous to his death he purchased the home on Higham street, where he passed away. The earlier part of his life was spent in the waters of the northern seas, where he was engaged in the whale trade. For years he was commander of a whale ship, with headquarters at New Bedford, Mass. He accumulated a good sized fortune in the whale industry, and after deciding to leave the sea he concluded to find some pleasant home on a western farm and settled in this county.

The captain could relate tales of the sea in a most entertaining style and was familiar with all the nautical ways and manners. He had sailed in almost every sea and was wonderfully well posted on the geography of the world. He was a great reader, and a man who retained what he read and looked under the surface for the interesting facts which lie buried from the casual and haphazard student.

The captain was vice president of the State Bank of St. Johns for many years, and was heavily interested in national banks. He invested quite heavily in western banks just previous to the panic in 1893, and his fortune was somewhat impaired by the failures which followed, but he leaves a fine competence for his family, which consists of his wife and two children, George, a young man of 18 years, and Helen, a girl of 12.

MUNDELL.—Walter L. Mundell was born in Virginia August 1, 1838, and died at his home in Fowler April 20, 1900, aged 61 years 7 months and 16 days. The deceased came to Michigan with his parents in 1852. He did his duty manfully in aiding his parents in clearing up a new farm, and later in helping a widowed mother to care for a large family of younger children. In 1861 he enlisted in the Third Michigan Infantry and was a brave and patriotic soldier until the close of the civil war. He was wounded in two engagements. He received from congress a medal for personal bravery in capturing a rebel flag. He has ever lived a patriotic and worthy citizen, and was an esteemed member of the G. A. R. He leaves a wife, one son and four daughters, three brothers and one sister.

PENNELL.—Orrin G. Pennell, one of the pioneers of Clinton county, closed his earthly career February 16, 1900, at the age of 77 years, after a well spent life of activity.

He was one of the best known men in the county, where he had resided

since the spring of 1867, and had been identified with many of the earlier enterprises in a business, social and political way. He was born at Cortland, New York, in November, 1822, and removed to Michigan in 1861 and settled in Washtenaw county, where he engaged in farming. In 1868 he purchased what was known at that time as the John Gardner farm in DeWitt township, and moved there the following spring with his family. Since that time they have been continuous residents of the same place, which is indeed an old homestead. Mr. Pennell received an academic education at Yates, New York, and before coming to this state he taught school for several years. He was a man of great reading and research and was well equipped to rear a family.

In 1885 Mr. Pennell was a candidate for state senator from the district, which was at that time composed of Ingham and Clinton counties. Mr. Pennell ran on the fusion ticket against Otis Fuller and was elected, receiving 7,716 to Fuller's 6,529. E. R. Reed was the prohibitionist candidate and received 793 votes. Mr. Pennell served his township and the county as supervisor for several years.

**PROPER.**—Dexter B. Proper died in Ovid in March, 1900. Mr. Proper was born in Royalton, Niagara county, New York, November 29, 1826. On July 1, 1849, he was married to Ruena D. Maynard of Millville, New York. In the fall of 1852 they moved to Middlebury, Shiawassee county, where they resided until 1871, when they removed to Ovid. Mr. Proper enlisted in Company K, Twenty-fourth Michigan Volunteer Infantry, and served his country until honorably discharged at the close of the war. For years he has been a member of Geo. A. Winans Post, and had many friends among the soldiers as well as in other circles. He leaves a wife and three children, Clarence E., of Chesaning, J. Frank, of Owosso, and Mrs. S. Parmenter. Another son, Jay, died in infancy.

**RADEMACHER.**—Rt. Rev. Rademacher, born in Westphalia, Michigan, 60 years ago, died at Fort Wayne, Indiana, January 12, 1900, after a year's illness. He was bishop of the diocese of Fort Wayne, and had spent the greater part of his life in laboring earnestly for the Catholic church. His sister, Mrs. Joseph Bohr, resides in Westphalia, and he has a brother, Gaspar, in Detroit. The cathedral parish was involved in debt to the amount of \$100,000, and after suffering a severe nervous shock a year ago he constantly worried over the financial affairs of his diocese. He grew worse and in a short time was entirely incapacitated. He was under treatment at Fort Wayne for some time and then went

to Chicago and was under the care of a specialist, but received no benefit. The last official act he performed was a year ago in Mishawaka, Indiana, where, on New Year's day, he celebrated pontifical high mass, closing a brilliant two weeks' golden jubilee celebration of St. Joseph's Catholic congregation. In his early days he studied in Fort Wayne and was ordained a priest in the cathedral by Bishop Luers in 1863. He served a pastorate at Attica, Indiana, then at St. Mary's church in Fort Wayne. It was while there he was appointed bishop of the diocese of Nashville, Tenn., in 1883, and after the death of Bishop Dwenger, in 1893, he was appointed bishop of the Fort Wayne diocese.

REED.—Charles Reed, an old pioneer of Clinton county, and one of Riley's earliest settlers, but late of Hastings, Barry county, was buried at South Riley, Sunday, February 11, 1900. The circumstances attending his death are very sad. It appears that Tuesday, January 30, he came to his sister's home in Portland, took dinner with her, then started to see another relative. By going three-fourths of a mile across lots would save him a mile walk, so he took that route. Ten days after this some one of the family where he took dinner meeting one of the family Mr. Reed intended visiting, asked him if Mr. Reed was still at his house. The answer was, "he has not been there." Search was made at once, and his lifeless body was found where it had lain ten days.

## EATON COUNTY.

BY ESEK PRAY.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Bishop, Mrs. Rachel.....	Charlotte.....	July 28, 1899..	80	A resident of the city since 1856.
Cobb, Wm. E.....	Benton.....	Sept. 2, 1899...	81	One of the well known pioneers.
Cogswell, Harrison .....	Windsor.....	Sept. 3, 1899 ..	89	A resident of the county since 1848.
Dutton, Allen C.....	Eaton Rapids.....	Oct. 29, 1899 ..	76	He came to Michigan in 1833.
Hamilton, Mrs. Horace M.....	Eaton Rapids.....	Oct. 29, 1899 ..	79	She came to Michigan in 1839.
Harmon, Mrs. Mary A.....	Charlotte.....	July 21, 1899 ..	86	A resident of Michigan since 1855.
Hawkins, Duane.....	Vermontville.....	Dec. 6, 1899...	56	A native of his town—his parents were members of the "Vermontville colony."
Hunt, Mrs. Elizabeth O.....	.....	—, 1899...	70	A resident of the state since 1842.
Lett, Mason.....	Pottersville.....	April 2, 1900..	74	Lived on the farm 46 years.
Ludbrook, Wm.....	Roxand .....	Dec. 31, 1899..	95	A resident for 45 years.
Pearl, Ira.....	Charlotte.....	Feb. 13, 1900..	79	Had been a resident of the county 60 years.
Piper, Wm.....	Charlotte.....	Sept. 28, 1899..	83	A resident of Charlotte 46 years, and leader of the choir.
Potter, Walter W.....	Eaton Rapids.....	Oct. —, 1899 ..	73 }	They were early settlers in the county and lived to celebrate their golden wedding.
Potter, Mrs. Walter W.....	Eaton Rapids.....	June 19, 1899..	75 }	
Snow, Newton.....	Charlotte.....	April 15, 1900.	79	He went overland to California with an ox team in 1849.
Stewart, David H.....	Carmel.....	Aug. 21, 1899..	79	A resident of state since 1835.
Waterman, Mary P.....	Dimondale .....	June 1, 1899 ..	95	

**VANHOUTON.**—John Vanhouton died at his home in Roxand July 24, 1899.

He was born in New Jersey in 1819 and when twenty years of age came to Michigan and settled in the township which for sixty years was his home. He was one of the first settlers of the township, before roads were marked out, forests leveled or the touch of civilized man had left an impress upon the face of nature. His long residence, strict integrity and business ability endeared him to the early settlers who looked to him for counsel and assistance, as well as those who came after. For twenty years he was supervisor of the township and filled many other offices of trust.

**WEBBER.**—Dyer F. Webber, of Charlotte, died April 14, 1900, aged 83 years. Mr. Webber was born July 3, 1816, at Geneva, Cayuga county,

New York. He had been a resident of the county since 1856. He was a teacher and had held various positions,—editor, postmaster and justice of the peace for many years. In March, 1842, he was united in marriage to Miss Cynthia Ames, who survives him, after 58 years of wedded life.

WHITTUM.—Horace C. Whittum was born in Litchfield, Herkimer county, New York, October 29, 1814. In 1837 Mr. Whittum traveled across the country from Toledo to Eaton county and located 160 acres of land in Brookfield. In 1842 he married Miss Prudence Bayless, who died in 1893, a few months after celebrating the 50th wedding anniversary. They settled on the Brookfield farm in 1866. He was an active, honorable business man, and held many positions of trust, and died at Eaton Rapids, August 10, 1899, aged 86 years.

## INGHAM COUNTY.

BY C. B. STEBBINS.

[Fifteenth Annual Report.]

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Acker, George .....	Williamston.....	Feb. 22, 1800..	56	A native of Oakland county.
Adams, S. W. C. ....	Lansing.....	Sept. 12, 1809 ..	68	When a comparatively young man he located in Lansing.
Alton, A. F. ....	Lansing.....	Sept. 28, 1809..	51	His whole life was spent in Lansing.
Amos, Mrs. Margaret.....	Lansing.....	Aug. 8, 1809 ..	79	A resident of Lansing since 1878.
Backus, Harry.....	Lealie .....	Oct. 22, 1809 ..	76	
Bentley, James.....	Mason.....	Nov. 7, 1809..	78	
Boam, Jacob.....	Lansing.....	Oct. 12, 1809 ..	93	
Brower, David B. ....	Stockbridge.....	Nov. 15, 1809 ..	81	He came to Michigan in 1829.
Hurke, E. K. ....	Lansing.....	May 17, 1800..	52	
Burnett, Mrs. Sarah A. ....	Lansing.....	Dec. 14, 1899..	63	
Campbell, Dr. Wm.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 21, 1900..	86	He came to Michigan when a child.
Carpenter, Mrs. M. B. ....	Lansing.....	Sept. 23, 1809..	78	
Carrier, Mrs. Alice F. ....	Lansing.....	Feb. 28, 1900..	70	
Case, S. B. ....	Williamston....	Nov. 12, 1809..	56	
Chadwick, Mrs. E. P. ....	Lansing.....	April 15, 1900.	63	
Chapin, Henry L. ....	Mason.....	Sept. 13, 1809..	53	
Clements, A. Newell.....	Lansing.....	Nov. 24, 1809..	51	A resident of Lansing 30 years.
Cook, William.....	Holt.....	April 12, 1900.	82	A pioneer of the state.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Corey, James.....	Vevay.....	April 8, 1900..	86	He came to Michigan in 1862.
Coryell, Richard C.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 25, 1900..	78	Resident of Lansing 35 years.
Cross, Mrs. Mary T.....	Lansing.....	April 1, 1900..	77	A resident of Lansing since 1863.
Dalley, Mrs. Nora.....	Lansing.....	May 16, 1900..	77	A resident of the city 33 years.
Daniels, Mrs. Almeron.....	Okemos.....	Sept. 17, 1899..	85	She came to Michigan in 1853.
Eicher, Mrs. Rebecca.....	Lansing.....	Aug. 31, 1899..	76	An old resident of Ingham.
Emmer, Nicholas.....	Williamston.....	Feb. 11, 1900..	68	
Felton, Daniel.....	Alaledon.....	June 14, 1899..	82	An old resident of the county.
Finch, Mrs. Leonard.....	Mason.....	Aug. 21, 1899..	65	
Finch, Peter.....	.....	Jan. 31, 1900..	90	
Graham, Mrs. E. W.....	Lansing.....	June 27, 1899..	82	
Hammond, Morris.....	Meridian.....	May 30, 1900..	80	Had been a resident of the township 30 years.
Hann, Peter.....	Lansing.....	April 4, 1900..	70	Settled in Lansing in 1862.
Hart, Benjamin.....	Williamston.....	Jan. 4, 1900..	73	
Henderson, Mrs. Perry.....	Mason.....	April 6, 1900..	82	Lived in Mason 45 years.
Hickey, Edwin.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 9, 1900..	62	
Hickok, Thomas T.....	Lansing.....	May 2, 1900..	84	
Hocum, Mrs.....	Lansing.....	Jan. 12, 1900..	86	
Holha, Richard P.....	Williamston.....	Jan. 25, 1900..	72	A veteran of the war of 1865.
Hoyston, Phoebe C.....	Leslie.....	March 3, 1900..	79	
Joy, Horace.....	Lansing tp.....	Sept. 23, 1899..	78	He lived on his farm 37 years.
Leavenworth, Mrs. A. D.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 9, 1900....	84	
Lewis, Mrs. O. J.....	Alaledon.....	Dec. 29, 1899..	86	
Linder, Mrs. Eva.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 9, 1900..	76	A resident of the state about 35 years.
Loftus, James.....	Lansing.....	Nov. 23, 1899..	70	Came to Lansing in 1860.
Loyd, Timothy.....	Lansing.....	April 27, 1900..	79	He put up many buildings in the city.
Lucas, Sallie.....	Lansing.....	July 5, 1899....	97	Lived in Lansing 32 years.
Maser, John.....	Lansing tp.....	June 23, 1899..	65	Had lived on his farm many years.
Mason, Delivan.....	Lansing.....	Sept. 10, 1899..	74	
Miller, Loren.....	Mason.....	Feb. 20, 1900..	70	A pioneer of the county.
Miller, Mrs. K.....	Lansing.....	Jan. 18, 1900..	80	Resident of the city over 40 years.
Mitchell, Calvin.....	Lansing.....	April 7, 1900..	75	Resident of Michigan nearly all his life.
Mitchell, Mrs. Calvin.....	Lansing.....	March 10, 1900..	60	
Moses, William S.....	Lansing.....	July 4, 1899....	70	A resident of the city over 37 years.
Nichols, Mrs.....	Lansing.....	July 31, 1899..	49	
Packard, Mrs. Melinda.....	Lansing tp.....	May 12, 1900..	73	A resident of the county 53 years.
Perry, Mrs. Mary Ann.....	Lansing.....	May 18, 1900..	64	She was a resident of Lansing 30 years.
Pilbean, G. W.....	Mason.....	Jan. 7, 1900....	60	
Plummer, Mrs. Margaret.....	Lansing.....	Aug. 5, 1899....	86	She came to Washtenaw county 65 years ago and to Lansing 30 years since.
Potter, Mrs. Walter W.....	Lansing.....	June 15, 1899..	75	
Pratt, Laura Ellen.....	Lansing.....	March 3, 1900..	64	



Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Randall, Mrs. Catherine.....	Lansing.....	Dec. 28, 1899..	79	
Reeves, Henry.....	Mason.....	Aug. 2, 1899..	75	He came to Mason when a young man.
Reeves, Mrs. Julia.....	Lansing.....	Dec. 23, 1899..	79	She came to Michigan in 1836.
Richardson, John M.....	Lansing.....	May 18, 1900..	48	
Rix, Hiram.....	Williamston.....	March 31, 1900..	88	
Sanderson, Mrs. Phoebe.....	Leslie.....	March 2, 1900..	54	
Savage, Joseph H.....	Lansing.....	Dec. 28, 1899..	73	
Saxton, N. G.....	Mason.....	June 14, 1899..	76	Had been a resident of the vicinity 40 years.
Scudder, Mrs. Rebecca.....	Alaiedon.....	June 1, 1900..	95	
Sexton, N. G.....	Mason.....	June 14, 1899..	76	
Smith, Delevan C.....	Vevay.....	Sept. 10, 1899..	74	A pioneer of the county.
Smith, Joseph.....	Lansing.....	Sept. 13, 1899..	78	Had lived in the city 30 years.
Sower, Michael.....	Mason.....	Aug. 27, 1899..	74	
Speer, Mrs. Joseph.....	Williamston.....	Jan. 10, 1900..	66	Came to Michigan in 1857.
Stachel, Mrs. Carrie.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 2, 1900..	85	A resident of Lansing 27 years.
Van Aken, Benj.....	Lansing.....	Dec. 29, 1899..	79	He had lived in Lansing since 1854.
Van Aken, Mrs. Benj.....	Lansing.....	May 8, 1900..	77	She had lived in Lansing since 1854.
Van Nest, Mrs. Catherine.....	Lansing.....	Sept. 11, 1899..	85	She settled near Howell in 1835.
Ward, Peter.....	LeRoy.....	June 12, 1899..	69	
White, Frank.....	Mason.....	March 14, 1899..	65	A pioneer of the county.
Wilcox, George.....	Lansing.....	May 24, 1900..	66	
Wilcox, Miranda.....	Mason.....	May 14, 1900..	72	Many years a resident of the city.
Williams, Mrs. Franklin.....	Williamston.....	April 15, 1900..	80	She came to Michigan in her infancy.
Woodford, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	Lansing.....	Feb. 27, 1900..	82	A resident of Lansing 32 years.

The number of deaths of pioneers in Ingham county in the past year which we have been able to obtain largely exceeds that of any former year, amounting to 102, consisting of 41 women and 61 men. The average of the women was a small fraction of 69 years. The oldest was 95, and the youngest 41. The average age of the men was 68½ years.

ADAMS.—Mrs. Helen Case Adams, one of Lansing's most prominent women, died at her home, 613 High street, North Lansing, January 18, 1900.

Deceased was born at Sabula, Iowa, October 21, 1839. She was a daughter of Daniel L. Case, at one time auditor general of Michigan, and always prominent in state and local affairs. She was married 35 years ago to Andrew C. Adams, who died a few years afterward. She was interested in kindergarten work, having given up a school only a

year or so ago. She was also an active worker in temperance circles, a member of the W. C. T. U. and active in woman's affairs generally.

Deceased leaves a daughter, Mrs. Mary F. Collins, of Arlington Heights, Chicago.

**ADAMS.**—James Madison Adams died at his home in Williamston November 4, 1899. Mr. Adams was an old resident of Williamston, having owned a farm four miles south of there, where he lived until his house was destroyed by fire, when he removed to town in 1869. He was born in the state of New York 84 years ago. It was there he married Nancy Westbrook, who survives him. They have six children now living, two daughters and four sons—Rev. Alfred Adams, pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist church at Mecosta; Mark, who lives in Stanton; Charles in Greenville, and Byron, who has remained in Williamston, and about 20 grandchildren. Deceased was formerly a minister of the church of United Brethren, and recalled many interesting facts of the earlier history of New York, having seen the construction of the Erie canal, etc.

**ALEX.**—Abram Allen died October 2, 1899, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. B. F. Hall, 204 Grand street south.

Deceased was born in Mendon, Monroe county, New York, June 18, 1817. He was married to Miss Vesta Anna Jones of that place in 1847. When a boy of 20 he visited Michigan, and walked from Ionia to Jackson looking for land. He passed through the site of Lansing ten years before the capital was located there. He was afterwards there on a similar trip shortly after Lansing became the capital and was yet a primitive place.

He moved to Michigan in 1854 and settled on a farm near Commerce, Oakland county. He served as supervisor several terms and was a member of the legislature from that county at the close of the civil war.

Mr. Allen removed to Lansing in 1867 and engaged in lumber manufacturing. He was successively a member of the firms of Buckland, Allen & Wise, Allen & Wise and Allen & Hall. He served the city as alderman two terms. Deceased was a prominent member of Central M. E. church and filled a position on the board of trustees over 30 years.

His wife died September 14, 1884. Two daughters survive him, Mrs. B. F. Hall of Lansing, and Mrs. A. R. Thayer of Saginaw.

**ANGELL.**—Elliott H. Angell died at his late home September 11, 1899, aged 72 years. He was one of the first settlers of Bunkerhill, having lived there since 1854. He was well known throughout Ingham county, having been a prominent member of the grange, G. A. R. and F. and A. M. fraternities. He was a member of the M. E. church. He had held

the office of coroner, drain commissioner and was census enumerator in 1890. He has been postmaster, justice of the peace and was at the time of his death a notary public and pension agent. He was a staunch republican. His aged widow and four children and three grandchildren survive.

**APPLETON.**—William Appleton died October 4, 1899, at his residence in Lansing, after an illness of three weeks.

William Appleton was born in Bracknell, Berkshire county, England, June 12, 1828. He was an only child and given by his parents the best educational advantages offered by the academy of his native town. His life was an eventful one. At the age of 19 he was married to Miss Elizabeth Johnson, with whom he lived 53 years, and who still survives him. Having a natural love for military training he was chosen one of the twenty picked men to attend Queen Victoria as her personal escort. Six years later he resigned this position and removed to Batavia, N. Y. Two years after he removed with his family to Watertown, Clinton county, Michigan, settling in the woods, bravely enduring the hardships of a pioneer and converting the dense forest into a fruitful farm.

Upon the marriage of his only son in 1871 he came to Lansing, where he built the home on Capitol avenue and where he has since resided. The death of this son ten years later gave him a shock from which he never fully recovered.

After his removal to Lansing he was twice elected to the responsible office of city engineer. He also filled the position of cemetery commissioner and superintendent of public works. These offices he considered as public trusts to be administered with the same economy and thoroughness which characterized his dealings in private affairs.

Deceased leaves a widow and one daughter, Mrs. Edgar Hurd.

**BARNES.**—Hon. Orlando M. Barnes, pioneer, lawyer and business man, was visited by the angel of death November 11, 1899. So prominent a figure in the developing days of the state and in large business enterprises as was Mr. Barnes deserves a place in the records of Michigan history; therefore a suitable memorial will be read before the next meeting of the society, and will be found in volume 30 of the Historical Collections.

**BOAM.**—Jacob Boam died October 12, 1899, at his late home, 925 St. Joseph street west, Lansing.

He was 93 years of age and a veteran of the Mexican war. He was born in Vermont July 6, 1806. Forty years before his death he moved

his family to Lansing and had resided there since that time. Deceased is survived by five daughters and five sons.

**CHOATE.**—S. P. Choate died at his home in Lansing June 27, 1899.

Mr. Choate had been a resident of Lansing for over thirty years, and was well known. He served through the war of the rebellion, and his late illness and death was due to wounds received during that struggle.

**CRONKITE.**—Mrs. Helen A. Cronkite died June 30, 1899, at her late home in Lansing. Deceased was born September 12, 1842, in Otsego county, N. Y. She came to Michigan when she was 15 years of age. She attended Miss Rogers' female seminary in Lansing for some time. Afterwards she taught school for several years. She was married in April, 1870, to John W. Cronkite of the capital city and had resided there since that time. She left no children, her only living relative being a brother, Washington G. Wiley of Lansing.

**FITCH.**—Hon. Chas. C. Fitch, aged 60 years, died very suddenly at his home in Mason June 28, 1899. He was a Knight Templar, and served two terms in the Michigan legislature, representing the second district of Ingham county. He served several terms as register of deeds. He leaves a widow, mother, one daughter, one brother and one sister.

**GREEN.**—Thomas W. Green died April 3, 1900, at the residence of his son-in-law, Capt. H. L. Thayer, 916 Washington avenue north, at the ripe old age of 89 years.

Mr. Green was born at Warwick, R. I., in June, 1811. He came to Lansing in 1855 and settled in North Lansing, which has always been his home, except for a brief season when in Colorado and two years at Mackinac Island. Deceased for many years was engaged in the manufacturing business in the north part of the city, and was instrumental in the building of Franklin street Presbyterian church, of which, for several years, he was an active member. He was also a member of the North Lansing lodge of Odd Fellows. While at Mackinac Island about two years preceding his death he met with a severe accident by a fall, from which he never fully recovered; and that, together with the infirmities incident to old age, was the cause of his demise.

Probably no man in the capital city was better known than Thomas W. Green, and his was a conspicuous figure on the streets of the city.

Deceased is survived by one daughter, Mrs. H. L. Thayer, and a half-brother, C. W. Church, both of Lansing; also a half-sister, Mrs. Rushmore of Cambridge, Mass.

**HICKEY.**—Edwin Hickey, a veteran of the civil war and an old resident of Lansing, died suddenly at the home of friends, 1034 Michigan avenue west, February 9, 1900.

Deceased was born in Cayuga, N. Y., in 1838. At the outbreak of the civil war he enlisted as a drummer boy in the 31st New York Infantry, serving out his enlistment of three years. He came to Charlotte, Mich., at the close of the war, and was proprietor of the Phoenix house in that city for some time. Later he came to Lansing, where he resided for the last 20 years of his life. He was a member of Charles T. Foster Post, G. A. R.

He is survived by a son, Claude Hickey, and a daughter, Mrs. Maude Harmon of St. Joe, Mo.

**HINMAN.**—Mrs. Sarah Elizabeth Bush Hinman, aged 69 years, died at her home, 405 Capitol avenue south, April 26, 1900, aged 69 years.

Mrs. Hinman was born in Tompkins county, N. Y., coming to Lansing in 1847, when Washington avenue was still a country road, the trees not having been cut out of the street. On February 22, 1848, she was married to William Hinman, and has since resided in the city. She was a member of St. Paul's Episcopal church. She was literarily inclined, having written many articles for the Pioneer society, one of the latter appearing in the recent Woman's Hospital edition of the State Republican.

Deceased is survived by her husband, William Hinman, three daughters, Miss Jennie E. Hinman of Chicago, Mrs. S. L. W. Bowman of Leavenworth, Wash., and Mrs. Alfred Beamer, and one son, William C. Hinman, both of Lansing.

**HITCHCOCK.**—James Hitchcock, the ex-convict, dropped dead on the streets of Lansing Saturday afternoon, May 10, 1900, aged 81 years. "Jimmie" was a well known character in the city and throughout this portion of the state.

"Uncle Jimmie" was a quaint character and one whose life had been almost wholly devoid of sunshine. A convict for more than 33 years, and a homeless old man without money and without a relative to administer to his wants after he was released from prison, he spent the last years of his life in absolute want. It was only the kindness of casual acquaintances, made as he wandered about the streets from day to day in quest of food to keep life in his old body, that saved his remains from being sent to the university pickling vat.

Hitchcock was born in England in 1819, and came to Ingham county in 1852 with his wife and two children. In November of the latter year

he attended a lawsuit in the village of Stockbridge with a man named Stevenson. On their way home in the evening all went good naturedly until Hitchcock banteringly remarked to his companion that he had "never been tracked for mutton." For this he was given a severe beating, the companion having had an experience which made mutton a tender subject with him. A few moments after this encounter the two men separated at a fork in the road, but Stevenson was bent on having further revenge. He took after Hitchcock and renewed the quarrel, and during the fracas that ensued a sharp stick in Hitchcock's hand penetrated Stevenson's groin and inflicted a wound that caused death before assistance could be procured. The wound was near an artery which the man's violent exertions caused to burst. This affray took place a few weeks after Stevenson had been stabbed six times in a fight at Dexter, and the wounds then made had not yet healed.

One of the principal witnesses against Hitchcock, as shown by the record submitted with his application for pardon, was a man named Ackley, with whom he had just had a lawsuit concerning some pork. Years after Hitchcock was sent to prison Ackley, while on his deathbed, testified that he swore to a lie on the witness stand in order to get even with the prisoner. Another witness named Wright swore that he saw Hitchcock stab Stevenson six times, but he, too, during his final illness, admitted that his testimony was false.

Hitchcock gave himself up at the time of the killing, and he was tried in May, 1853. Being without means, he was unable to retain proper counsel or secure witnesses, and so his case went practically by default. A young attorney was appointed just as the trial was about to commence to defend him, but owing to the short time for preparation, he was unable to be of much service. Under the law then in force the prisoner was not permitted to take the stand or make any statement in his own behalf. The result was that Hitchcock was convicted of murder in the first degree and sent to state prison for life.

Hitchcock spent the first four years of his imprisonment in solitary confinement, and for the three years thereafter he shuffled about dragging behind him two iron balls which weighed nine pounds each. He was required to wear these manacles day and night, and at times they almost chafed his heels off.

After Hitchcock had been in prison for something more than 20 years an effort was made to have him pardoned, but no governor could be persuaded to investigate his case fully until it was brought to the attention of Gov. Russell A. Alger, who became interested in him while visiting

the prison one day, and who upon learning that the old man had been there for a quarter of a century and had always protested his innocence, made an investigation, which resulted in his granting him a pardon on Thanksgiving day, 1885.

The pardon files in the executive office contain an extended history of this case. They show that the testimony taken at the trial was submitted to such eminent jurists as ex-Justices Christy and Graves of the supreme court, who reported that the state had done the old convict a grievous wrong. The petition for the pardon was signed by Judge Johnson, who presided at the trial and sentenced the prisoner, Judge Shaw, who assisted in the prosecution, and other prominent men who were familiar with the facts in the case.

The pardon record shows the reasons for granting the pardon were that if Hitchcock was guilty of any crime at all, which was doubtful, it was the result of a sudden and uncontrollable passion, and that there was nothing premeditated about it; that, at the time the crime was committed, he was a young, uncultured man without any evidences of depravity; that his conduct during the 33 years he had been in prison was exemplary, and that he had arrived at an age which reasonably insured the public against any danger from his release.

When Hitchcock found himself a free man, he discovered that his wife and daughter were dead, and that a son was all that remained of his family. The son was living in New York, but being dependent upon his daily labor for the support of himself and family, he was unable to render his father any assistance. The latter was, therefore, compelled to eke out a miserable existence by doing such odd jobs about town as his great age and impaired physical condition would permit.

Being confident of his innocence of the crime for which he was compelled to suffer so many years, Hitchcock contended that the state should reimburse him to some extent for the injury done him, and he had a friend introduce in the legislature a joint resolution authorizing the board of state auditors to pay him \$3,000. This resolution was introduced at each succeeding session of the legislature. While the legislature was here the old man haunted the capitol corridors and urged its passage, but all to no purpose. Finally he gave up in despair some three years before death and made no more appeals.

As time went on, the old man was able to do less and less. During the last year of his life he had been unable to do even the small odd jobs which used to bring him in enough to keep him in food. He then became a charge of the city, and the last act of his life was to call upon the

poor director for assistance. He left the poor director's office after making his last appeal for food, and had not proceeded more than a quarter of a mile toward the house of a friend, who gave him shelter, when death overtook him as he walked the street, and his blasted life was done.

**KERR.**—The life of one of Lansing's oldest and most generally beloved citizens went out at 6:20 o'clock on the morning of December 8, 1899, when Mrs. Polly P. Kerr breathed her last at her home, corner of Grand and St. Joseph streets, and thus was fulfilled the hope she so often expressed during recent months, and which was given public expression only one week before her death, that she might finish her days in the house that had been her home for more than 40 years.

Mrs. Kerr never rallied in the slightest degree from the stroke of paralysis she suffered a few days before, but gradually grew weaker until her weary spirit was gently released. There was no suffering, no struggle. Her end was peaceful.

During the more than 40 years Mrs. Kerr had resided in Lansing her name was a household word throughout the city, and she was held in the highest esteem by all her acquaintances. No woman was better known among the pioneer residents of Michigan, her home having been the center of hospitality for years during the life of her husband, John A. Kerr, formerly state printer. Mr. Kerr's acquaintance among the earlier public men of the state was very extensive, and in the days when hotel accommodations were meagre in Lansing, he entertained on an extensive scale. In this he was ably seconded by his accomplished wife, and the old home was the scene of constant entertainment and sociability.

Mrs. Kerr's charitableness was proverbial in Lansing, and during her years of plenty she gave with an unstinted hand. Even during the later years of her life, when fortune dealt less kindly with her than previously, her great heart would permit no denial of such assistance as she was still able to give the unfortunate even at great personal sacrifice. She was constant in her ministrations to the needy and afflicted, into whose homes she went with words of cheer and encouragement, and many of these were sincere mourners at her bier.

Polly Priscilla Phelps was born in Ira, Cayuga county, New York, January 27, 1827, and was the youngest of 10 children. In January, 1852, she was married to John A. Kerr, then a young book merchant at Rochester. After remaining in Rochester a few years the young couple moved to Detroit, and a year later came to Lansing, arriving there in 1858. Mrs. Kerr is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Dr. F. S. Hull of Gettys-



burg, S. D., a sister, Mrs. Nancy Andrews of Lansing, and a brother, Rufus D. Phelps of Potterville.

**LEE.**—Mrs. Laura E. Lee, aged 90 years, a pioneer of Lansing, died at her home, May 11, 1900.

Mrs. Lee was born in Pine Plains, Dutchess county, N. Y. She was a descendant of an aristocratic family, of whom her great grandfather, Sir Admiral Gambier of the American navy, was the head. She came to Michigan with her father in 1837, locating at Farmington. She resided there until her removal to Lansing in 1858. Since that time she had made the city her home with the exception of a few years spent in Saginaw. Her husband was the late Daniel S. Lee, one of the first business men of the capital city, and one of the proprietors of the old Benton house, the first hotel in Lansing.

Deceased is survived by her daughter, Mrs. Sophia E. Peck of Lansing.

**LORANGER.**—Mrs. Eli Loranger died in Lansing November 13, 1899.

Mrs. Loranger, whose maiden name was Charity Lobdell, was born in Ingham township about 52 years ago. Her father, William Lobdell, was the proprietor and landlord of the Lobdell hotel at Williamston 35 years ago during war times. The hotel was located where the Andrews house now stands. Two children survive.

**MUNSON.**—Charles H. Munson died July 27, 1899.

Deceased was 65 years of age and had lived in Lansing for 29 years. A son and daughter survive him. He was a veteran of the civil war, having served in Co. G, 9th N. Y. heavy artillery, and was a member of Charles T. Foster post, 42, G. A. R.

**RIX.**—Hiram Rix, aged 88, one of the most prominent and highly respected residents of LeRoy, died at his home, two miles southeast of Williamston, Saturday, March 31, 1900. Deceased was born in New Hampshire, was there married to Miss Emily Osborne, and came to Michigan when a young man. He was one of the first settlers in Ingham county, having come to LeRoy when it was a wilderness, and cleared the timber from his farm himself. He was the father of 10 children. He leaves a widow, six children, 25 grandchildren, and five great-grandchildren.

**ROBSON.**—Robert Scott Robson died August 8, 1899.

Deceased was born at Bellevue, Mich., January 10, 1838, afterwards living at Farmington and Memphis, this state. He came to Lansing in 1856 and entered the store of J. I. Mead, North Lansing, as a clerk, hold-

ing this position until 1861, when he and his brother John formed a partnership with his former employer, under the firm name of Mead & Robson. In 1864 he went into business for himself. The firm of R. S. Robson & Bros. was formed in 1874, and a wholesale grocery conducted in connection with the dry goods business run by himself.

He was married July 29, 1862, to Miss Helen Gibson of Lansing, and they lived in the home in which he died for 29 years. Deceased was one of the public-spirited men of the city, having been closely identified with its interests for the past 40 years. He served several terms as member of the school board and was looked upon as one ready to take the initial step in any enterprise that would enhance the city's welfare. He was a highly respected member of Franklin council, Royal Arcanum.

A widow and two children—Miss Grace Robson of Lansing and Mrs. L. Adelbert Baker of Kenton, Mich., survive. Four brothers, John and Charles of Lansing, William of Williamston and George Robson of Grand Rapids, and two sisters, Mrs. C. E. Brownson of Lansing and Mrs. H. L. Henderson of Mason, are still living, this being the first death of any of the children.

**RUSSELL.**—Franklin F. Russell died at his home, 501 Grand street south, Lansing, January 24, 1900.

Deceased was born at Walpole, N. H., May 6, 1820. At the age of 20 he went to Rochester, N. Y., where for several years he was engaged in the hat and cap business. He came from Rochester to Lansing in 1856. He was in A. J. Veile's book store for several years, succeeding him when Mr. Veile left the city.

No one was better known than Frank Russell while he was in business as a stationer and newsdealer. His genial and cheery disposition made for him many friends.

Mr. Russell was twice married, his first wife dying in Lansing in 1874. He was again married on December 7, 1876, to Mrs. S. M. Knott, who, with one daughter, survives him.

**SAVAGE.**—Joseph H. Savage, who died at his residence, 309 Jefferson street west, had lived in Lansing for twenty-two years preceding his demise. He was 73 years old at the time of his death and had been retired from business for twelve years. He was born in Ellenburg Center, N. Y., and served through the civil war with company E, 10th New York volunteers.

Five children are left to mourn his loss, Mrs. Charles Daman, Mrs.

Harry Paul, Lenore Savage and Henry Savage of Lansing, and Mary Savage of Fargo, North Dakota.

**SHANK.**—Mrs. Frances Phoebe Shank died August 20, 1899, at her residence, 603 Washington avenue south, Lansing.

Frances Phoebe Shank, nee Johnson, was born in Tompkins county, N. Y., September 21, 1823. At the age of 24 years she married Dr. H. B. Shank, moving to Lansing immediately afterwards. Mrs. Shank had always been an active member of the Universalist church, having taken an active part in the building of both churches in the city. Lansing ever had a warm place in her heart, and she watched its growth with much interest. She figured prominently in the charitable work of the city and was a favorite with a large circle of friends. Her husband died ten years earlier.

The four children surviving her are: Dr. R. J. Shank, Mrs. H. A. Farrand, R. B. Shank (since deceased), and Edward H. Shank, all of whom are well known in Lansing.

**SHANK.**—In the death of Robert B. Shank Lansing lost one of its youngest and most enterprising business men. He was public spirited and filled with pluck, energy and hard work. He carried his heart upon his sleeve and was a loyal friend and a good neighbor. In business circles especially, the deceased will be greatly missed. He was 43 years of age and was born in Lansing, where his entire life was spent and where all his heart ties were centered. He left a wife and two daughters, two brothers, Dr. R. J. and E. H., also one sister, Mrs. Farrand, all of Lansing.

**WILCOX.**—George Wilcox died at his home in Lansing May 24, 1900, aged 66 years. Deceased had lived in Lansing 27 years. He served three years in the civil war, and the wounds received then were the cause of his death.

During Mr. Wilcox's four years' service in the civil war he was a prisoner for 17 months in Andersonville prison. While the state offices were still in the old capitol he became night policeman, and upon removal to the present building he took up the same duties. Four years previous to death ill health caused by his wounds necessitated his resigning his position. Besides a wife and two daughters, Lizzie and Mrs. W. E. Bement of Lansing, he leaves a son, William Wilcox of Leadville, Col.

## IONIA COUNTY.

BY ALBERT F. MOREHOUSE.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Clark, Polly.....	Portland.....	April 19, 1900.	86	
Colton, Matilda .....	Easton .....	Oct. 2, 1899 ...	87	
Divine, Elizabeth.....	Belding .....	May 10, 1900...	79	
Gurnsey, Ezra M.....	Ionian.....	Sept. 27, 1899 .	81	
Hunt, Abram.....	Portland.....	May 19, 1900 ..	78	
Jennings, Elizabeth.....	North Plains.....	April 29, 1900.	80	
Krup, Charles.....	.....	May 19, 1900..	76	
Morehouse, Sarah C.....	Portland.....	Sept. 7, 1899 ..	82	
Pierce, Geo. H.....	Orange.....	May 27, 1900 ..	83	
Ransom, Rev. Geo.....	Muir.....	Dec. 22, 1899..	66	
Reed, Otis H.....	Portland.....	May 8, 1900....	78	
Russell, Edwin A.....	Portland.....	Nov. 14, 1899..	73	
Sabin, Caroline.....	Belding .....	Dec. 29, 1899..	79	
Shaw, Martha .....	Belding .....	Dec. 29, 1899..	75	
Spencer, Wm.....	Belding .....	May 9, 1900....	79	
Way, Daniel.....	Otisco.....	July 24, 1899..	84	

**DIVINE.**—Mrs. Westbrook Divine, one more of the earliest pioneers of the section, was called to her final rest May 10, 1900. She was well known to all the older residents of Ionia and adjoining counties.

Elizabeth Roosa was born in Ulster county, N. Y., January 9, 1826, and came to Michigan in the year 1839, and lived in the family of her uncle, Charles Broas.

She was united in marriage to Westbrook Divine of Eureka, Montcalm county, January 27, 1845, and they commenced housekeeping in the pioneer days, when the red man roved the country. She was always pleased to relate her experience of their visits and of the many hardships that had to be endured when there were no railroads and the nearest trading stations were Ionia and Grand Rapids. She was often physician and nurse for those who were sick and helpless.

Two daughters and three sons were born: Sarah C., wife of D. P. Fargo, who now resides in Dolan, South Dakota; Monroe B., who resides in Portland, Mich.; Asher A., who resides in Mapleton, North Dakota; Addie B., who died in infancy, and George E., who died July 30, 1898.

Her husband, Westbrook Divine, died September 10, 1888, and after his death she resided with her son George until his death, when she accompanied her daughter, Mrs. Fargo, to Dolan, South Dakota, with whom she resided until her death. Her request was that she be brought back to her old home and laid to rest by the side of her husband and son.

**FREEMAN.**—Sarah C. Freeman was born at Waterford, N. Y., December 3, 1817, and died at Portland, Michigan, September 7, 1899. By the untimely death of her father in 1823 her mother was left a widow with two small children, the deceased and a younger brother who died in 1838. Subsequently the subject of this article went to reside with a married sister at Bennington, Vt. At the age of fifteen she was converted and joined the Baptist church at Shaftsbury, Vt. Afterwards she transferred her membership to Newark, N. J., thence to Troy, N. Y., where she was married to Albert F. Morehouse November 6, 1839. This union continued nearly 60 years. The family came to Portland, Mich., May 24, 1843. The deceased, with her husband, united with the Portland Baptist church August 20, 1843, but in 1871 she transferred her membership to the M. E. church, where she was a consistent member for 28 years, until her death. In her christian experience, as exemplified in her family, in the neighborhood and in the church, she gave evidence that the christian life was more than a form—was a power controlling the whole being. She, with her little family, came to Portland when the country was new. Their home was in a dense forest, with no road as yet opened, and no church edifice in the township for many years afterward. They were pioneers, and none but pioneers can tell of the privations of those early years. With no physician near, the sick settler could only wait with as much patience as possible the development of disease, and hope for the best, which always seemed to be a long time in coming. All this the deceased experienced. Her funeral was attended by three daughters from Arizona, Louisiana and Grand Rapids, Michigan, and a son from Illinois.

**SPENCER.**—William Spencer died at the residence of his nephew, J. A. Spencer, in Belding, May 19, 1900.

Uncle William, as he was familiarly known, was born in the town of Richmond, Ontario county, N. Y., September 17, 1821, and was therefore in his 79th year. He came to Michigan in an early day, and before railroads became so numerous used to run boats on Grand river. He also ran on Lake Michigan, and during the last years of his active business life spent each summer in New York city, where he was engaged

with a navigation company during the season. He formerly owned a fine farm in the northwest corner of Otisco township, but about a dozen years before his death took up his residence in Belding. His wife died about five years earlier. They had one child, which also died many years before.

**CLARK.**—Mrs. Lewis Clark died April 19, 1900, aged 98 years.

Polly Soles was born at Alburg, Vt., February 8, 1802. She was married at that place August 23, 1818, to Lewis T. Clark, a soldier of the war of 1812, who was one of the storming party at the capture of Fort Erie near Buffalo. In 1840 the family came to Ann Arbor, and in 1842 to Portland, Ionia county, where they continued to reside until death. Mrs. Clark was of a long-lived family; her father lived 88 years, her mother 85 years, her sister 82 years, her brother died at Portland at the age of 92 years, and she herself more than 98 years. Of a cheery disposition, her presence was always welcome, especially so in those early years of the new settlements, when the land, denuded of its sheltering trees, developed a deadly miasma, permeating the physical system and prostrating the settler on his bed of sickness when his active labor was most sorely needed. Remote from neighbors, with no physician near, what wonder, then, if the family of the immigrant gave way to despondency. Then it was that Mrs. Clark's presence and services were always desired and appreciated. Nor were her cheery counsels confined to words alone. With alert step she tidied up the home and provided some little delicacy, so grateful to a weakened patient, and when the light of that household was darkened by the entrance of death, the words of sympathy which she expressed alleviated the sorrows of the stricken family. Thus, while she lived, three generations of the human family were born, fulfilled their destiny and passed away. For more than half a century she was a consistent member of the Congregational church, though for many years preceding her death the infirmities of age precluded her attendance at the sanctuary. She waited patiently, and when the summons came she responded to the Master's call. Her funeral was attended in the same church edifice where in her younger days her seat was rarely vacant.

## KALAMAZOO COUNTY.

BY HENRY BISHOP.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Alcott, Mrs. Deborah .....		May 17, 1900 ..	82	
Barnes, Reuben .....		April 8, 1900 ..	86	
Blodgett, Jerred .....	Pavilion .....	May 12, 1900 ..	79	
Briggs, Jane P .....		April 23, 1900 ..	73	
Burson, Abner .....		April 19, 1900 ..	96	Resided on same farm 62 years.
Bush, Henry W .....		April 22, 1900 ..	82	Supt. county poor 14 years.
Campbell, John P .....	Cooper .....	April 29, 1900 ..	80	
Carman, Wm .....		April 5, 1900 ..	84	
Cave, James .....		Mar. 18, 1900 ..	74	
Coleman, Mrs. O. F. ....		Aug. 24, 1890 ..	66	Wife of a Mexican soldier.
Croese, Alvira .....	Prairie Ronde .....	April 24, 1900 ..	75	A resident of Prairie Ronde 72 years.
Cutler, J. W .....	Portage .....	May 22, 1900 ..	64	
Dorrance, Mrs. A. B. ....		Oct. 27, 1890 ..	79	
Doolittle, John S .....		July 14, 1890 ..	71	
Douglas, Hosea B .....	Texas township .....	May 6, 1900 ..	82	
Fellows, Solomon .....		Feb. 9, 1900 ..	71	
Fletcher, Chas. M .....		April 19, 1900 ..	77	
Freer, William .....		April 27, 1900 ..	66	
Goddard, Phillip .....		July 12, 1890 ..	80	
Hackley, Julius .....			81	
Harper, Geo. M .....		April 8, 1900 ..	80	
Hatch, Mrs. O. R .....		Mar. 19, 1900 ..	79	
Holman, John S .....		July 16, 1890 ..	80	
Hoyt, Henry E .....		Feb. 11, 1900 ..	72	
Hubbard, Mrs. Silas .....		June 4, 1890 ..	71	
Kirkland, Hugh .....		Oct. 13, 1890 ..	83	
Lusk, Harrison J .....		April 27, 1900 ..	60	
Miller, Eli R .....	Richland .....	Mar. 18, 1900 ..	81	
Osborne, Samuel S .....	Charlestown .....	April 25, 1900 ..	79	
Phillips, Gibson .....		June 12, 1890 ..	77	
Pursel, Mrs. Helen .....		May 22, 1900 ..	69	First white child born in township of Schoolcraft.
Stone, Mrs. Lucinda H .....	Kalamazoo .....	Mar. 14, 1900 ..	85	A woman of great prominence.
Tallman, James V .....		April 2, 1900 ..	76	
Taylor, James .....	Kalamazoo .....	June 20, 1890 ..	78	
Weed, Abraham .....		April 20, 1900 ..	96	
Wheeler, George .....		May 24, 1900 ..	.....	

STONE.—Mrs. Lucinda H. Stone died at the ripe old age of 86 at her home in Kalamazoo, March 14, 1900. She had lived to see her most cherished ideas worked out into general practice. Co-education in the higher institutions of learning is now common in many parts of the country. Woman's clubs have multiplied almost as rapidly as the loaves and fishes of scripture, and give promise of an indefinite increase. Their founder, the "mother of woman's clubs," as she was called, was fortunate beyond most prophets.

But it is a noticeable fact that other pioneers in the "emancipation of women" have been almost as fortunate. Though Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Howe and Miss Anthony have insisted especially on the suffrage, they have had an interest in every development of the woman's rights movement, have watched it from the beginning, and have had many of their hopes fulfilled. Nor is this merely because, like Mrs. Stone, they are exceptionally long-lived. If it is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that Mrs. Stanton should be 85, Mrs. Howe 81 and Miss Anthony 80, they might have passed away years ago and still have beheld much of that progress upon which they were intent.

They and Mrs. Stone were all peculiarly blessed in the time of their endeavor. The world, or the United States at least, was ready to let woman work out the most of her own problems. Hence in the accomplishment of a change decades became the equivalents of centuries. Though the sentiments or prejudices of tradition remained, they soon lost their effectiveness in the face of argument. Modern man had gone too far with his liberal preachments to dissent from the abstract proposition that woman should have the right to enter the professions and business—the right to his own opportunities. He may still have his doubts about the value of the right or the propriety of its use, but he had to concede the principle.

In referring to these obvious truths we would not try, however, to deny the pioneers the credit they deserve for their labors. They have met with much stubborn and stupid resistance, have worked with great disinterestedness and ability, have been the chief promoters of certain needed reforms in our laws, have been an immense help to their sisters through the methods of association and organization. Mrs. Stone ranked high among them and will be long remembered.



KENT COUNTY.  
BY WM. N. COOK.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Barnaby, James T.....		Oct. 22, 1899..	77	
Bodlack, Anthony.....		July 9, 1899....	78	
Brown, James W.....		Dec. 2, 1899....	64	
Chadwick, Geo. W.....		Jan. 17, 1900....	61	
Childs, Henry B.....		Jan. 17, 1900....	85	
Clark, Mary A.....		Oct. 28, 1899....	81	
Comstock, Chas. C.....		Feb. 20, 1900....	81	
Cook, Maria.....		Feb. 19, 1900....	90	
Crissman, John V.....		Mar. 1, 1900....	85	
Dart, Elijah.....		Dec. 23, 1899....	66	
Deane, Mary L.....		Sept. 11, 1899....	89	
Elet, Chas.....		Jan. 3, 1900....	81	
Field, Bethana.....		Jan. 4, 1900....	90	
Fisher, James.....		Nov. 12, 1899....	93	
Gay, Geo. W.....		Sept. 24, 1899....	62	
Godfrey, Silas F.....		Dec. 8, 1899....	71	
Green, Martin.....		July 21, 1899....	77	
Haxton, Elenor M.....		Sept. 3, 1899....	93	
Howard, Charles L.....		Oct. 2, 1899....	84	
Hoyt, Edwin, Jr.....		Sept. 3, 1899....	71	
Hughes, Patrick.....		Sept. 9, 1899....	64	
Hunt, Eliza S.....		Sept. 7, 1899....	88	
Ives, Calvin L.....		Oct. 2, 1899....	55	
Jenison, Luman.....		Oct. 7, 1899....	78	
Lankester, David.....		Dec. 21, 1899....	64	
Ledyard, Harrison T.....		Aug. 11, 1899....	56	
McCue, Michael.....		April 15, 1900....	109	
Miller, Jane R.....		Mar. 14, 1900....	84	
Miller, Margaret.....		April 3, 1900....	79	
Noble, Alfred D.....		Sept. 28, 1899....	66	
Norton, Mrs. Ann.....		May 20, 1900....	91	
Oom, John M.....		Mar. 11, 1900....	87	
Reeves, Andrew J.....		Oct. 17, 1899....	79	
Riley, Geo. B.....		Dec. 9, 1899....	74	
Saunders, Dr. H. G.....		Dec. 22, 1899....	89	
Scranton, Vallina E.....		Feb. 9, 1900....	76	
Shaw, John Lewis.....		Mar. 18, 1900....	67	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, Israel C.....	.....	Nov. 27, 1899...	60	
Strang, Michael.....	.....	Jan. 2, 1900....	59	
VanDriele, Francis.....	.....	Feb. 3, 1900....	63	
Whalen, Mrs. Karan.....	.....	Oct. 25, 1899...	84	
White, Charles B.....	.....	Feb. 12, 1900...	63	
White, William B.....	.....	Dec. 2, 1899....	73	
Young, Trumble C.....	.....	Feb. 23, 1900...	75	

**BLAKELY.**—Mrs. Mary L. Blakely died April 20, 1899, aged 77 years, 1 month and 9 days.

Mary L. Green was born in West Winfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., March 12, 1822. She came with her father, Hezekiah Green, and family in Michigan in 1836 and located in the Grand river valley. She taught school in the Indian mission house situated on Front street, one block south of Bridge street, on the west bank of the river, during the summers of 1839 and 1840, succeeding Miss Bond, the missionary, who taught the first school exclusively for white children in the valley. In 1842 she married William C. Blakely. One son, of Grand Rapids, survives her. A twin brother, Martin Green, of Ottawa county, survived his sister but three months, when he, too, joined "the innumerable caravan."

**CHILDS.**—Henry B. Childs, well known as a citizen of Kent county for over 70 years, died January 17, 1900, at his home in Rockford. Deceased was the promoter of the Childs paper mill in Rockford and had large farm interests in that part of the county. Of late years he lived in Grand Rapids.

**COMSTOCK.**—Ex-Congressman Charles C. Comstock died at his home, Riverside, Grand Rapids, half a mile from the soldiers' home, February 21, 1900.

Charles Carter Comstock was born in Sullivan, N. H., March 5, 1818. He lived with his parents on a farm until he was 24 years old, when he went into the lumber business in his native state. The New Hampshire field, however, was small and, in 1853, he came to Grand Rapids. With E. T. Ward & Co. he brought the first machinery to the city for the manufacture of sash, doors and blinds. Later he bought the Winchester furniture factory, but was forced to the wall by the panic of 1857. By resort to what was known for many years as "Comstock scrip" he pulled through, however, and in 1862 he sold a half interest in the business to James M. and Ezra T. Nelson. Three years later he sold

the other half and devoted himself to lumbering and farming, his lumber output for many years being ten million feet a year. In 1863 he was elected mayor. In 1870 he was the democratic nominee for governor of the state. In 1878 he was the people's candidate for congress and in 1884 he was again a candidate for congress for the democratic and greenback parties, and was elected, succeeding the late Julius Houseman.

Mr. Comstock was liberal in both thought and action, and had the happy faculty of making friends of all acquaintances. It may be truly said of him that he was most highly esteemed and respected by those who knew him best, and by none more sincerely than his employees, of whom he had a great number during his long business career. At the age of 22 years he was married to Miss Mary M. Winchester in their native town. She was a devoted wife and a christian woman, whose influence made a strong impression on his life. She died in Grand Rapids in 1863, and three years later he married Mrs. Cornelia Davis of that city, who survives him. His eldest daughter and her husband, Albert A. Stone, were lost with the steamer "Brother Jonathan," which foundered in a gale off the coast of California in July, 1865, and his only son, Tileston A. Comstock, a young man of rare promise and ability, died in 1870, leaving a widow, who was a daughter of Aaron B. Turner.

Mr. Comstock met few reverses in his business career. He passed through several panics and crashes, but always maintained his honor and integrity, and leaves a valuable estate as a result of industry, honesty and energy.

He also leaves a widow and four daughters—Mrs. John Goldsmith, Mrs. Franklin Konkle, Mrs. Lucius Boltwood and Mrs. Huntley Russell, all of Grand Rapids; also an elder brother, Dauphin W. Comstock, of the same city.

The Grand Rapids Herald of May 28, 1900, contains the following interesting article regarding one of its old settlers:

Henry Genia was one of the first, and in many respects the most remarkable citizens Grand Rapids ever had. Mr. Genia was the father of Joseph C. Genia, of Spring Lake, who was born on the rapids of Grand River over 60 years ago. He and Louis Campau came to these parts about the same time. Both were Canadian French by birth, and Detroit was their last hailing place. Mr. Genia's most remarkable characteristics were his great physical courage and remarkable personal strength. His height was only five feet four, but his muscular frame pulled the balance into the two-twenty mark.

Old timers remember many marvelous stories of Mr. Genia's performances. It is said that on one occasion Louis Campau offered to give him a barrel of pork if he would wade Grand river with the meat on his head and carry it in that manner to his home, half a mile farther.

"How many times can I rest?" asked Mr. Genia.

"As often as you please."

"Done."

The pork was raised to his head and the husky Frenchman started on his toilsome journey.

The bed of Grand river does not afford the best walking under favorable circumstances, but Genia got his load to his home with only three rests.

Returning to the store, Genia offered to take a barrel of flour on the same terms, agreeing to pay for both in case he failed.

Campau declined, however, saying:

"You ought to be satisfied with making forty-five dollars in one day."

On one occasion Genia was attacked and badly lacerated by a savage bear. He succeeded, however, in breaking the brute's jaws with his hands, and thus saved his life.

Fighting and wrestling men from near and far came to try conclusions with Genia, but they always got the worst of it. The Frenchman could pretty nearly floor an ox with a blow of his fist. He was a good natured man and would take an insult rather than strike a man of ordinary strength.

Henry Genia's wife died in 1839, and Michigan lost its charm. Leaving his little children in the family of his brother Joseph, Henry struck out for the Mississippi river, where he again became famous for his physical prowess.

Early in the war Genia went west, and in 1863 he secured a contract for laying a section of track of the Union Pacific. While getting out ties he was ordered off the land by three men, who finally attacked him, but were badly whipped by the Frenchman. The next day the fellows renewed the fight with revolvers, Genia having in the meantime armed himself with a rifle. A bloody wild western affray ensued, in which Genia lost his life. The body, which had been ever invincible before animate creation, became vincible indeed when a leaden bullet entered it.

**GREEN.**—Martin Green, twin brother of Mrs. Mary L. Blakely, died July 21, 1899, three months after the death of his sister, aged 77 years, 4 months and 9 days.

He was born in West Winfield, Herkimer county, New York, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1835, locating in the Grand river valley. Later he married Harriet Freeman, and on Christmas day, 1896, they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary.

His wife, a son and a daughter survive him.

**JENISON.**—Luman Jenison, the veteran democrat, one of the pioneer lumbermen, mill owners and farmers of the Grand river valley, died October 8, 1899, at his home in Jenison. Mr. Jenison had been despondent and not entirely himself in health or spirits since the death of his twin brother, Lucius Jenison, in March of the same year, and during the last two weeks had been failing rapidly. The cause of death was a general breaking down of the system from grief and old age, he being in his 77th year.

The Jenison twins were born in St. Lawrence county, New York, on April 25, 1823. They followed their brother, Hiram Jenison, to Michigan in 1836, and settled on the banks of Grand river, about seven miles from Grand Rapids, in Ottawa county. With their father and brother they engaged in the lumber business near the present site of Jenison, which was named after the family. The twins formed a partnership in their boyhood, and they lived and worked together all their lives. All that they had was held in common. The two prospered in the lumber business, and afterward, when settlers began to locate on the lands they had cleared, they started a mill and store. A village grew up around the two institutions, and was named Jenison.

The two were so prominently identified with the growth and development of the Grand river valley and of Grand Rapids that they were looked upon as quasi citizens of the Valley City. They were well known there, both in business and social circles. Luman was perhaps better acquainted in the city than Lucius. Luman looked after the store at Jenison and the manufacturing interests of the firm. Lucius managed the farming interests of the two. The twins never married, and were never separated until death took Lucius away six months before Luman's death. Lucius caught cold when his house burned in March and died in three weeks. The death was a shock from which Luman never recovered.

The remains were laid in the Jenison mausoleum by the side of his brother.

**NORTON.**—Mrs. Asa Norton, who died May 20, 1900, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. D. N. Beebe, on Gold street, Grand Rapids, was among the oldest women alive in Michigan, having been born in 1809, three years before the war of 1812. Her native state was Connecticut. When 19 years old she married and came to Michigan. After a brief residence at Plymouth Mr. and Mrs. Norton went to Cooper, near Plainwell, where they established the tavern so well known to the old settlers who traveled the old stage road between Grand Rapids and Kalamazoo.

Fire destroyed the building in 1868, and they moved to Dorr, where they lived until Mr. Norton died in 1885. Since then Mrs. Norton had lived with her daughter in Grand Rapids. Five of her nine children survive her, Edward Norton, of Fort Scott, Ark.; Mrs. C. M. Belcher, of Ann Arbor, Mich.; Frank and Fred Norton, and Mrs. D. N. Beebe of the Valley City.

**SARGENT.**—James and Thomas Sargent, Jr., twin sons of Thomas Sargent, early pioneer of Kent county, died a few years ago, but their death was not chronicled in the memoirs of the pioneers of the county. Yet they were conspicuous figures of the earlier days, because of the close resemblance of each to the other. So marked and close was this appearance that their most intimate friends could not name them correctly with any degree of certainty. For several years they were employed on a steamer plying between Grand Rapids and Grand Haven, and when referred to by travelers or teamsters were always as "Tom or John, I declare I don't know which."

After the death of their father they succeeded him in the street-sprinkling and ice business, and for years were well known figures upon the streets of that city. The close resemblance continued through life.

**SMITH.**—Gen. Israel C. Smith was shot and instantly killed by the accidental discharge of his own gun while hunting, November 27, 1899.

Israel Cannon Smith was born in Grand Rapids March 12, 1839, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Cannon Smith, having settled there two years previous to his birth. The family was of Quaker descent, having lived up to 1837 in Rhode Island. Mr. Smith was educated in the public schools of Grand Rapids and completed his education at Albion college. His first commercial experience was gained in the lumber business in Muskegon, but later he conducted the same kind of an enterprise in Chicago. This business venture lasted a year, when he returned to Grand Rapids and began the study of law. This he pursued for another year, when he succumbed to an attack of the gold fever, and in 1859

joined a party bound for Pike's Peak, but finally landed in California. After a short but exciting experience in the mining camps of California, he returned home via the Panama isthmus. After a short experience as bookkeeper on a Mississippi steamer, he settled down to the study of law in Grand Rapids. His studies were, however, interrupted again, this time by the outbreak of the civil war, at the beginning of which he enlisted as a private in Company E of the "Old Third" Michigan infantry. Before the command left the state he was promoted to a second lieutenancy, and after the first battle of Bull Run he was again promoted, this time to first lieutenant and adjutant. In January of the next year he was made captain of Company F of his own regiment which had already established a national reputation as a body of the fiercest kind of fighters.

He saw hard service and the stiffest kind of fighting with his regiment in the siege of Yorktown, the Peninsular campaign, and was mentioned in general orders by Gen. Phil. Kearney for gallantry at the battle of Fair Oaks. Soon after this he was wounded twice, while leading a desperate charge at the second battle of Bull Run, and one of the bullets he carried with him to his death. For his gallantry he was again promoted, this time to the rank of assistant inspector general. At the battle of Chancellorsville he again distinguished himself, and later, at the battle of Gettysburg, at a decisive moment in the great charge of Longstreet, rallied his men, who were weakening under the dreadful onslaught, leading them back to their original position, and incidentally being wounded in the leg with a ball which fractured the bone. This bullet he also carried with him all the rest of his life.

Later in the year he was appointed a major of the Tenth Michigan infantry, and with it saw hard service in the south. When the war ended he was colonel of his regiment, and shortly after its close he was breveted a brigadier general. He refused a commission in the regular service, preferring to return to civil life.

After being mustered out he returned to Grand Rapids and assumed the management of the National hotel, which stood where the Morton house is now located. In 1867 he married Ada Elizabeth Meeker. He had only one child, Morton Fitz Smith, who is now serving as a second lieutenant in the Twenty-second United States regular infantry in the Philippine campaign.

Gen. Smith was appointed city fire marshal in 1876, and in 1881, when the police and fire board was first organized, he was appointed one of

the members. In 1887 he was appointed superintendent of police, serving in that position for two years.

In 1892 he was appointed collector of internal revenue for the western district of Michigan by President Cleveland, and served a full term of four years.

Gen. Smith, upon the organization of a National guard in the city, took command of the local company, and was appointed the first colonel of the Second regiment when it was organized. In 1884 he was made brigadier general of the state troops, serving in that capacity for five years. Gen. Smith was also active in fraternal life of the city, and for a number of years occupied the position of commander of the Michigan division of the Loyal Legion.

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#### LENAWEE COUNTY.

BY BENJ. L. BAXTER.

**ARMSTRONG.**—Henry H. Armstrong died at his home in Adrian July 2, 1900, in his 78th year.

Mr. Armstrong was born in Pawlet, Rutland county, Vt., November 23, 1822. He came from good old revolutionary stock. His grandfather, Joseph Armstrong, settled in Vermont in 1776. His grandfather on his mother's side was Capt. Zebadiah Andrus, who was an officer in the revolutionary army and afterwards was appointed by Gen. Washington a land commissioner for Vermont. His commission, signed by Washington, together with many historical things connected with that early period, are still preserved by the family.

Phineas Armstrong, his father, was one of the first men in his native town to enlist in the war of 1812, and was in the service until its close.

On September 12, 1844, Mr. Armstrong married Mary A. Robinson, daughter of Ephraim Robinson, and they came the same fall to what was then called the far west, Michigan. They located in Marshall, and for some years they endured the hardships of early pioneer life in a new country, sickness, toil and privation being their lot.

They moved to Albion in 1871, and since then resided there.

Six years ago they celebrated their golden wedding, and Mr. Armstrong's death was the first to occur in the family in nearly fifty-seven years.



**BREWSTER.**—Henry Brewster was born at Stoe, Summit county, Ohio, May 10, 1838, and died at his home in Clinton December 30, 1899. He, with his parents, moved to Michigan in 1844, and was married in 1866 to Miss Alice G. Brown, who died six years earlier after a long and painful illness.

Mr. Brewster was taken suddenly ill and died in a few hours afterward with heart failure. He had spent nearly all his life in the community, and was an honest, upright citizen who will be greatly missed.

Three daughters survive him; also a brother, who lives near Owosso.

**CRITTENDEN.**—Henry Crittenden, a prominent citizen of Adrian for many years, was found dead in a cistern. He rose at 4 o'clock and went down stairs. Not returning, search was made, and displacement of the cistern cover finally led to his discovery. He had been in poor health some time. He was 74 years of age and for 30 years was a popular conductor on the Lake Shore, but quit the road about 15 years before death.

**DOWLING.**—Thomas Dowling was born in England October 7, 1830, and died in Hudson township September 11, 1899. His boyhood days, till the age of 20, were spent in England, where, at that time, educational facilities, except for the privileged classes, were quite limited.

Early in life Thomas Dowling developed a remarkable talent and love for music. Under very discouraging difficulties he obtained a proficient knowledge of that subject. His parents were much opposed to his spending valuable time in pursuing what, to them, seemed a useless acquirement. The only time he could devote to music was on Sundays and odd times during the intervals of his daily labor. But few things have contributed more to the enjoyment of his life than vocal and instrumental music.

He possessed mechanical genius, when but a mere boy, far above the average, but the opportunities for satisfying his ambition in this direction were wanting till he came to this country with his father's family in the spring of 1851. He then learned the trade of carpenter and joiner and took pleasure in the study of architecture. Many buildings are now standing which attest the thoroughness with which he did whatever he undertook.

He was married to Cordelia Root July 4, 1857. Three children were born, two sons and one daughter. The daughter died when three years old.

Mr. Dowling was well known in the county, having lived on the same farm about 40 years.

Besides his wife and two sons, Fred of Kalkaska and Hugh of Clayton, he leaves three brothers and two sisters.

**DURLING.**—Mrs. Augusta Durling, wife of Henry Durling, died at her home in Wise township, Isabella county, December 12, 1899. She was born in Tecumseh August 9, 1850, and was married March 24, 1869, and moved to the place she made her home until her death.

**EXELBY.**—George Exelby died in Britton December 30, 1899, aged 63 years, 9 months and 22 days. Mr. Exelby was born in the township of Ridgeway March 8, 1836, and lived there until he came to Britton, twelve years before his death, when the village was in its incipiency. He was married to Miss Ann Palmer March 2, 1862. The widow and three children survive him, viz.: Walter, Edgar and Mrs. Ella Exelby Gripton. He was one of Britton's most enterprising citizens, and a liberal supporter of all public enterprises.

His name may be found on nearly every bond of the treasurer of the township for many years.

**GAMBLE.**—Frederick W. Gamble died December 7, 1899, at his country home, aged 70 years.

The subject of this brief sketch was a native of Ireland. At the age of 16 years, attracted by the opportunities which were open to young men in the United States of America, he decided to emigrate. Arriving in New York city, the youth found profitable occupation for a time and then went to Buffalo. Here he was employed in an extensive flouring mill for several years. He came to Michigan in 1852, locating at Tecumseh. Three years after, in 1855, he married Miss Maria Gray, daughter of J. W. Gray. Purchasing a farm southwest of Tecumseh some three miles, the young couple moved to the home where for forty-four years they lived. Here their five children were given them, and two were taken to the home beyond.

**HOWLAND.**—Jonathan Howland died at his home in Adrian township on Monday, December 11, at the age of sixty-seven. Mr. Howland was born at Manchester, Ontario county, N. Y., September 5, 1832, and came with his father, Jonathan Howland, Sr., to reside in Michigan in May, 1849. They took up their residence upon the farm where Mr. Howland died, and which had come into possession of a member of the Howland family from the territorial government. At this homestead Mr. How-

land had resided for more than fifty years, except for a few years' residence in the city of Adrian.

He married, November, 1854, Emeline A. Snediker, who with four sons, David L., Frank A. and Fred J. of Adrian and Nicholas A. Howland of Tecumseh, survive him.

HUNT.—James S. Hunt was born in Monmouth county, N. Y., June 3, 1821, and died at his home in Tecumseh January 9, 1900. Since 1832 he had lived in Lenawee county, spending the latter years of his life in Tecumseh.

James Hunt started in his business career with no capital, and by hard work and good business ability acquired a competency. His hope for many years had been to settle his own estate and to owe no one as much as a penny, and he was able to gratify this desire.

A daughter, Mrs. Floyd Freeman of Tecumseh, and two brothers, W. H. Hunt of California and A. D. Hunt of Franklin, survive him.

JONES.—Mrs. David Jones, nee Anne Meredyth, was born in Breconshire, Wales, September 29, 1829. She was married to David Jones August 12, 1851, and a few days later started for this country. That same year she came with her husband to Tecumseh, where they had since made their home, and where they reared a large family. To them were born ten children, seven of whom survive the mother and remain to console the father. Mr. and Mrs. Jones united with the Presbyterian church of Tecumseh July 4, 1858, under the pastorate of Rev. Blinn.

KEMP.—Harriet Della Langthorn Kemp died suddenly at her home in East Macon on Saturday, January 20, 1900. She was born on the same farm January 18, 1858, consequently had lived on or near the same spot for 42 years and two days. She was married to John Kemp October 18, 1882. She was the mother of six children, three of whom survive her.

KISHPAUGH.—Peter Kishpaugh was born in Sussex county, N. Y., June 6, 1833, and died at his residence in Clinton January 1, 1900. He came to Michigan in 1849, and in August, 1856, was married to Eliza Lambert of Dundee. The following September they moved to their farm in Franklin, where they resided until the fall of 1882, when they moved to Clinton, where they since lived. He leaves a wife, four sons and two daughters to mourn his loss.

MILLARD.—A. L. Millard of Adrian, president of the Lenawee county bar association and oldest practising lawyer in the county, passed away January 11, 1900, aged 84 years. For years Mr. Millard had been a

leader of the Lenawee county bar and one of the foremost lawyers in Michigan. As an advising lawyer his counsel had been sought and advice followed by all the present generation of Lenawee lawyers. He was admitted to the bar of this state the same year Michigan was admitted to the union, and was before the supreme court at its first session, and for many years was the honored president of the bar association of the county. For over 60 years he was a member of the profession he adorned and loved. He gave the years of a life prolonged far beyond the average of the days of man to the trying, laborious duties of a lawyer.

**MILLER.**—Mrs. Isaiah C. Miller died November 3, 1899, aged 84 years.

Deborah F. Pratt was born near Palmyra, N. Y., September 13, 1815. At the age of 13 she came with her parents to Michigan, who settled in Lenawee county. She was married at the Adrian Baptist church in 1833 to Isaiah Curtis Miller. They were among the pioneer settlers of Rollin township, where they took land from the government, and in the wilderness they made them a home where they resided until the end of life. Mrs. Miller was by birthright a Quaker. When the M. E. church of Rollin was organized she became a member and continued as an earnest worker.

**PARKER.**—Harvey M. Parker, an old and esteemed resident of Blissfield, passed away January 6, 1900. Deceased was in his sixty-third year. Death was due to heart failure. He is survived by a widow, one son, Alpha, and one daughter, Miss Cecilia Parker.

Harvey Myron Parker was born in Plessis, Jefferson county, N. Y., February 16, 1837. His early life was passed on a farm, and while here he obtained a common school education. He was a sailor on the lakes when the war broke out. July 15, 1861, he enlisted at Freeport, Ill., as a private in Co. A, Eleventh Illinois Infantry. His regiment took a prominent part in the winter campaign of 1861-2 under Grant, burying seventy-two of its men in one grave at Fort Donelson, and is included in Fox's History of Three Hundred Fighting Regiments. He was detailed by Gen. Tuttle, commanding the district of Cairo, on August 23, 1862, to serve as ordnance sergeant under Capt. James O. Churchill, acting ordnance officer. He served as such at Cairo, Ill., Columbus, Ky., and Helena, Ark., until appointed first lieutenant in the Forty-eighth U. S. C. I., March 14, 1864. He was mustered in as such at Vicksburg, Miss., March 18, 1864, and was assigned to Co. A, Capt. Harding. He was in command of the company from May 5 to June 30, 1864, and was detailed

and served as quartermaster from April 21 to May 31, 1865. He then resigned on a surgeon's certificate, and was honorably discharged for physical disability by general order No. 365 from the adjutant general's office at Washington, July 12, 1865.

Mr. Parker was married to Miss Mary Tredway in Adrian in August, 1866, settling on a farm near Blissfield in the spring of 1867. To them were born a son and daughter, both of whom are alive. He was a charter member and past post commander of Scott post No. 43, department of Michigan, G. A. R., and was a delegate to the twenty-first national encampment at St. Louis, in 1887. During his stay there he was the guest of his old commander, Col. Churchill. He prepared for publication the proceedings of the regimental reunion held at Ottawa, Ill., in 1875, and also of the company reunion held at Freeport, Ill., in 1885. He enjoyed to an unusual degree the society of his comrades, and never missed a gathering of old soldiers when possible to be present.

**ROBINSON.**—Walter Robinson, one of the pioneers of the county, passed quietly away at his home in the township of Adrian, September 14, 1899, aged nearly 81.

He was born in Wayne county, N. Y., December 17, 1818, and had lived in Michigan since 1846, he first located in Adrian, engaging in business for 12 years, when he purchased the farm on which he died. He was a man of high character and strict integrity, and was a member of the legislature of 1867, being a staunch republican in politics. He also served as deputy revenue collector in 1864. His wife and family of ten children survive him.

**SCOFIELD.**—William B. Scofield passed quietly away December 16, 1899, at his home two and a half miles west of Tecumseh. Mr. Scofield was born in Steuben county, N. Y., in 1848. At the age of 15 he enlisted in the 14th N. Y. V. Heavy Artillery and was honorably discharged at the close of the war. On December 19, 1879, he was married to Miss Laura L. Bryan. Mr. Scofield leaves, besides his wife, four daughters and three sons.

**SLATER.**—Wm. Slater, an old pioneer of Adrian township, passed into the great beyond January 14, 1900, after an illness lasting comparatively but a few days.

The subject of this sketch came to Michigan with his parents in 1833, and settled on a piece of land on the Monroe turnpike in the township of Franklin.

In 1852 he bought a farm in the then wilderness on section 12 in Adrian township and cleared it up and put the buildings on it, where he lived until his death.

Wm. Slater was born in Sussex county, New Jersey, January 12, 1823. February 14, 1844, he married Mercy M. Hill. There was born to them three children, Walter, living on the farm, one dying in infancy and Delia, the wife of Frank Schieble of Adrian township, who with the wife and mother survive him.

SMELTZER.—Mrs. Maria Smeltzer died December 25, 1899, aged 79 years.

Maria Neal was born in Seneca county, N. Y., July 20, 1820. There her early years were spent with her parents until she married Arnold Smeltzer in 1842. They came to Michigan and began their wedded life in Macon township, where they resided for a number of years. They moved to Raisin where she was left a widow, her husband dying twenty-eight years before her death. In 1872 she moved to Tecumseh where she resided ten years and in 1882 she, with her daughter, Maggie, went to Detroit, where she spent the remainder of her days, passing away Christmas morning after a brief illness. The deceased was a member of St. Peters church, Tecumseh. She was a grand-daughter of the revolution, her grandfather Neal having served in the revolution and war of 1812. She was the mother of five children, one dying in infancy, three daughters and one son survive her.

SMITH.—Henry Smith, an old, well known and highly respected resident of Tecumseh, died at his home in Brownville November 25, 1899, aged 69 years.

Mr. Smith was born in the town of Usehendorf, Bavaria, November 2, 1830. When 17 years of age he left his home in Germany to seek his fortune in the newer country across the Atlantic. He first located in New York city and three years later made the trip to California, where he remained four years. He returned and located on a farm in Macon, Mich., in 1857. After successfully conducting the farm for a period of ten years, he sold it, moved to Tecumseh and purchased the furniture factory of David VanTyne. Two years later this factory was destroyed by fire.

The firm of Smith Bros. & Lovett was established in 1869, and the Tecumseh paper mill was founded. Two years later Smith brothers bought Mr. Lovett's interest, and in 1878 Mr. Smith purchased his broth-

er's share and became the sole proprietor of the mill, and has successfully conducted the business until the present time.

Mr. Smith was married to Miss Christina Schmidt in 1856, and their union was blessed by four children: Mrs. Emma Klossenstein and Mrs. L. B. Schneider of Adrian; Miss Lizzie Smith and George Smith of Tecumseh, all of whom survive him.

WALDO.—Mrs. James L. Waldo died November 25, 1899, at the age of 79 years.

Susan Rowley was born in Cayuga county, N. Y., August 10, 1820, where she spent her childhood. In 1836 she removed with her parents into Genesee county, N. Y. In 1846 she was married at Batavia to James L. Waldo. In 1852 they removed to Albion, Mich., and in 1855 to Jackson, where for eleven years they were connected with the management of the state prison. In 1864 they moved to Tecumseh where they resided for thirty-five years. Mrs. Waldo leaves a husband, also one adopted daughter, Miss Celia F. Waldo, now living in Jackson, and five brothers and two sisters.

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## MACOMB COUNTY.

BY GEORGE H. CANNON.

In presenting this memorial report of Macomb county covering the period since the last annual meeting of the society in this city, it may be well to consider the question which must soon arise, and be taken into account, as to who are the pioneers. Of all those who took up land of the general government scarcely any now remain, especially is this the case in the older counties of the state. While we "who danced our infancy upon their knee" can hardly be classed as pioneers, although many of us have seen or experienced much of pioneer life; still the fact remains that the real pioneers have gone—they have passed over the divide; the lengthening shadows of the setting sun hide them from our view, while the glory and honor of their useful and well spent lives remain as a benediction to all posterity; and it is fitting that so far as possible a faithful record of their doings should be preserved in the transactions of this society.

BABBITT.—Mrs. C. A. Babbitt died at her home in Washington, October 26, 1899, aged 87 years.

Clarissa Andrus was born in Middlebury, N. Y., July 27, 1812. She was the third child of Elon and Nancy Andrus who, with seven children,

came from New York to the wilderness of Michigan in September, 1822, taking up land on section 33 that afterward became a part of Washington village, where they lived and died, and which is still owned by their descendants, the subject of this sketch having lived on the same land continuously for 77 years.

She early learned the lessons of privation and toil incident to pioneer life, bearing a large share in the settlement of the new home and in the rearing of the family of ten children.

May 13, 1836, she was married to Dr. Dennis Cooley, of Washington, who had one daughter two years of age. The same year Dr. Cooley was appointed postmaster of the village, an office that he held continuously for twenty-three years. So the young wife took up all the cares that would fall to the lot of the wife of a physician of a very extensive practice and postmaster of a large extent of country, their one-roomed house containing all the belongings of such a public man, and from which place she dispensed such broad hospitality as the mistress of a mansion, with many servants, seldom accomplishes at the present time.

The little daughter died in 1844, and soon afterward a seven-year-old motherless niece of the doctor was adopted into the family and received faithful parental care and training. (The wife of Prof. O. D. Thompson of Romeo.)

A few years later the message came again from the former Massachusetts home of the doctor that twin babies of his friend were left motherless, and the great mother heart of the wife yearned for them, so at the age of four months the two sick infants were brought to them. The boy lived but a few weeks, but the girl still survives as the wife of Mr. E. V. Preston, of Kentwood, La.

After building up a large practice and a beautiful and commodious home and the accumulation of a competence, the good old doctor died in 1860, after which his widow presented his extensive and valuable herbarium and scientific collection to the State Agricultural College at Lansing.

In 1862 Mrs. Cooley was married to Dr. S. A. Babbitt, of Ypsilanti, who lived in the Washington home, dying there in 1892.

Of the ten children of the Andrus family, all of whom lived to marry, but two remain, Loren Andrus of Detroit and Dr. Wm. Andrus of Utica.

Mrs. Babbitt was a quiet home-loving woman of such natural timidity that she shrank from every form of public action, but she was possessed of a distinctive queenly dignity that would have graced position.



**CHAPMAN.**—Mrs. Caroline Rice Chapman died at her home in Utica, October 30, 1899, aged 85 years and 7 months.

Caroline Rice was born in Jewett, Green county, N. Y., March, 1814. Twenty-two years later she and her husband braved the vicissitudes of territorial Michigan and located in Macomb county near Utica. Those were days for brave hearts and determined minds, and she met her new surroundings as few others did. Not only in her home but throughout the community was her sweet influence felt. They established and maintained for some time the first religious work in the neighborhood in which they lived. They also aided in forming and upholding the old Presbyterian church of that place, and later when the present Congregational church was organized, they each took a leading part. She was, with one exception, the last of its original membership to be called into the life beyond.

**HARVEY.**—James B. Harvey who died in Romeo, July 16, 1899, was born in Monroe county, N. Y., September 4, 1828. He came to Michigan with his parents when a child and settled at Frederick, near Mt. Clemens, afterward removing to Utica where the family resided many years. In his death Romeo loses one of its most respected and honorable citizens.

**HINTZ.**—Louis Hintz, an old resident of the county, 71 years of age, died July 14, 1899.

**LEWIS.**—Daniel W. Lewis died at Utica, August 29, 1899, aged nearly 80 years.

One by one the hardy pioneers of Michigan are passing away. Conquerors of a wilderness, they lived to see as the outcome of their toil fruitful farms, happy homes, populous villages and cities over all the fair Peninsular state.

Mr. Lewis was born in the state of New York February 11, 1820, and emigrated to Michigan and Macomb county with his father's family when a small boy. He married Miss Esther Galpin February 18, 1846. Four children survive him, Mrs. A. C. P. McLellan, Mrs. A. F. Leech and Mrs. G. W. Ruby of Utica, and N. B. Lewis of Boston, Mass. Of his father's family of ten, only two are living, Lafayette Lewis of Vassar and Mrs. Harriet Needham of Kansas.

Mr. Lewis settled on land two miles east of Utica, in those days called the "end of the road," the highway not being opened farther for many years afterward. He literally hewed himself a home out of the wilderness. At the close of the war he disposed of his farm and moved to

Utica, residing there until his death. Mr. Lewis was a mason by trade, and much of his handiwork is scattered over the surrounding country. Mr. Lewis enlisted in the 22d Michigan Infantry and served honorably with that regiment during the rebellion, and was a pensioner at the time of his death.

Mr. Lewis was a familiar figure on the streets of Utica. He was a great lover of the woods, and to hunt and fish or seek the rich deposit of the little busy bee was his greatest delight. The blood of the hunter was in his veins and you could almost find his counterpart in the "Leather Stocking" tales of Fenimore Cooper.

He was innocent of books,  
But rich in love of fields and brooks,  
The ancient teachers never dumb,  
Of nature's unboused lyceum.  
In moors and tides add weather wise,  
He read the clouds as prophecies,  
And foul or fair could well divine  
By many an occult hint or sign,  
Holding the cunning warded keys  
To all the woodcraft mysteries.  
A simple, guileless, childlike man,  
Content to live where life began,  
He told how teal and loon he shot  
And how the eagle's eggs he got,  
The seats on pond and river done  
The prodigies of rod and gun.

**PALMER.**—Mrs. Ruth Palmer, relict of the late Amos Palmer, died at her home on north Bailey street, Romeo, November 12, 1899, aged 87 years.

Mrs. Palmer was born in Granyville, N. Y., June 6, 1812. She was married and settled in Romeo with Mr. Palmer in 1834, where she continued to reside until her death. Mr. Palmer died in 1895. One son, Mr. A. W. Palmer of Rochester, N. Y., survives her.

**PALMERLEE.**—Mrs. Lucius Parmerlee died at her home in Bruce October 26, 1899, aged 81 years and three days.

Louisa Stone Palmerlee was born in Monroe county, New York, October 22, 1818. She was educated at Gaines academy and at the Monroe female seminary. At the age of nineteen she began teaching school in her native state, and taught there eight years before coming to Michigan. In 1843 the family moved to Michigan, settling near Richmond. She taught for two years in this state, and there are many still living who can testify to her success as a teacher.

In 1845 she was married to Lucius Palmerlee, and settled in the home which was still her's at the time of her death. They had one son who survives. They also reared his two children who were left motherless in their infancy.

**ROSE.**—Mrs. Hannah Rose, wife of Joseph Rose, died November 9, 1899, at her home one mile south and three and one-half miles east of Romeo, aged 76 years.

**SIBLEY.**—Mrs. Corbin Sibley died at her home of her son, Ezra T. Sibley, in Armada, Sunday evening, November 12, 1899, aged nearly 97 years.

As one of the oldest pioneers of this village, her history is inseparably connected with the growth of the village and all of its higher interests, and the sweet influences of her noble life will live long after the century, over nearly all of which the years of her life were spread, has closed.

Mary Corbin Sibley was born in Connecticut on the 4th of March, 1803. Her husband, Alvah Sibley, was born in Berkshire, Mass., in 1796. They lived in Brighton, near Rochester, N. Y., until 1835. In this place were born two sons, Alfred J., in 1824, and Ezra F., in 1827. In 1835 the family moved to Michigan and settled on the farm now occupied by Mr. Austin Phillips. In 1838 Wm. H. was born. Alfred died in Anamosa, Iowa; Wm. H. died in the army in 1862. She has two brothers living, both of whom are in the Episcopal church—Rev. Wm. Corbin, D. D., of Quincy, Ill., and Rev. Joseph Corbin, of Anamosa, Iowa. Her husband died in 1870. She leaves one child, Ezra Sibley, two grandchildren, and eleven great grandchildren. She has made a home for many others, it being estimated that she is the foster mother of twenty children. She and her husband with seven others were charter members of the Armada Congregational church, Mr. Sibley having been the deacon and Mrs. Sibley the chief promoter of the enterprise, and during her life the church was her center of interest. Mrs. Sibley was one of the comparatively few pensioners of the war of 1812 in which her husband was a soldier, and she was the last representative of the head of a family that took up land from the Government in Armada township.

**WHITNEY.**—Mrs. Harriet Veer Whitney died June 26, 1899, at the advanced age of over 90 years. She was born in the town of Wittington, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, in December, 1808, and came to Michigan in 1833, settling with her parents in Washington township, Macomb county. She married Mr. Whitney, and to them were born eight children—four sons and four daughters—four of whom, two sons and two daughters, are living. Mr. Whitney died thirty years before his wife.

## OAKLAND COUNTY.

BY JOHN M. NORTON.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Anderson, John W.....	Springfield.....	Jan. 29, 1899..	85	
Aacomb, Thos. C.....	Troy.....	Feb. 2, 1899..	81	
Ashman, James.....	Waterford.....	June 10, 1899..	84	
Bailey, Joseph.....	Commerce.....	Dec. 4, 1899..	85	
Barkham, Mrs. Mary.....	Commerce.....	April 11, 1899..	86	
Belford, Flora.....	.....	.....	83	
Bigler, Hannah.....	Orion.....	April 24, 1899..	81	
Briggs, Mrs. Anna M.....	Royal Oak.....	Jan. 27, 1899..	83	
Chapin, Barton B.....	.....	.....	91	
Cuneen, Mrs. Mary.....	Holly.....	June 8, 1899..	84	
Daines, John A.....	.....	.....	85	
Duckering, Sam'l.....	Highland.....	Sept. 25, 1899..	90	
Edgar, Mrs. Agnes.....	Royal Oak.....	Feb. 17, 1899..	79	
Eldred, Mrs. Sarah.....	Royal Oak.....	Dec. 20, 1899..	87	
Fay, Rev. J. F.....	.....	.....	83	
Fisher, John.....	Lyon township.....	April 14, 1899..	91	
Freeman, Green.....	Pontiac.....	June 27, 1899..	82	
Frost, A. P.....	.....	.....	83	
Fuller, Orville.....	.....	.....	90	
Gillespie, Thomas.....	Southfield.....	Dec. 8, 1899..	84	
Green, Leland.....	Farmington.....	Mar. 4, 1899..	96	
Grimley, James H.....	Birmingham.....	April 11, 1899..	85	
Griswold, Geo. G.....	.....	.....	88	
Hauna, Robert, Sr.....	Birmingham.....	June 14, 1899..	84	
Hunt, Mrs. Julia.....	Troy.....	Feb. 18, 1899..	82	
Knapp, Mrs. Ruth.....	Oxford.....	Oct. 24, 1899..	82	
Morgan, Nelson.....	Independent.....	March 8, 1899..	85	
Parsons, Charles.....	.....	.....	80	
Porter, Dr. James.....	Oxford.....	April 12, 1899..	87	
Proud, Joseph.....	.....	.....	80	
Quackenbush, Mrs. Eliza.....	Milford.....	Nov. 21, 1899..	84	
Robinson, Mrs. Mary.....	Milford.....	Mar. 21, 1899..	92	
Ross, Melvina.....	Bloomfield.....	Feb. 2, 1899..	84	
Rounds, Harley.....	Commerce.....	Feb. 22, 1899..	85	
Rust, Mrs. Lydia.....	.....	.....	86	
Smith, Mrs. Abigail.....	Orion.....	Mar. 29, 1899..	80	
Smith, Mrs. Lura.....	Farmington.....	March 6, 1899..	83	

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Smith, Mortimer.....	Birmingham.....	March 1, 1890.	33	
Snyder, Cornelius.....	Addison.....	May 27, 1890..	33	
Stanton, Hannah.....	.....	.....	32	
Stryker, Wm. W.....	South Lyons.....	May 6, 1890....	34	
Summers, Mrs. Laura.....	.....	.....	36	
Sutherland, Mrs. Polly.....	Oxford.....	April 17, 1890.	33	
Sutton, Mrs. E.....	Pontiac.....	June 13, 1890..	31	
Trent, Mrs. Cordelia.....	.....	.....	36	
VanWagner, Lorenzo.....	Oxford.....	Aug. 22, 1890..	32	
Waldo, C. C.....	Holly.....	Jan. 6, 1890....	30	

## SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.

BY A. H. OWENS.

**BIRDSLEE.**—John M. Birdslee died at his home in Bennington township, September 4, 1899.

Mr. Birdslee was born at Hardston, Sussex county, New Jersey, June 3, 1830. His father, Henry Birdslee, came to Michigan in 1839 and located land in Bennington, one and one-half miles from any trail. There, with his parents, John lived until he reached man's estate; when he married and bought a farm of his own. He added to this from time to time until he owned a farm of 220 acres, which was brought under a state of high cultivation by his own energy and thrift.

He was the father of six children, four of whom survive him, Charles H. and Mrs. Elvert Place, who live in California, Mrs. George Kenny and Lauson G. Birdslee, of Sciota.

**DORRANCE.**—Charles A. Dorrance of Vernon Village, died May 22, 1900. He was born at Bristol, N. Y., May 11, 1823. In 1849 he was united in marriage to Miss Mary Pierce, and from this union three children were born, two of whom survive their father. They are Mrs. Delia Craig, of Webberville, and Mrs. Nancy Bennet of Elsie. He was married the second time in 1863 to Mrs. Sophia Burt. To them two children were born, but only Victor Dorrance, of Wyandotte, remains.

The subject of this sketch was a resident of Vernon since 1865. For a long period he was engaged in the furniture business with John Long.

This partnership was dissolved in 1881 and a new firm, Dorrance & Burt, was formed, Mr. Dorrance having entered into partnership with his stepson, F. E. Burt.

In 1868 Mr. Dorrance became a member of the I. O. O. F. and advanced to the highest degree of the order.

**FRAIN.**—David Frain was born in Harrisburg, Penn., February 29, 1816, and died at the home of his daughter, Mrs. C. D. Smith in Corunna, April 26, 1900, aged 84 years.

In 1832, when but sixteen years of age, he came to Michigan. Six years later he married Miss Harriet Campbell. Four children blessed this union and still survive their father. They are Harrison, of Owosso, and Albert and Mrs. Mary C. Smith, of Corunna, and Mrs. Ella Keith, of Mt. Clemens.

**HAGAN.**—John Hagan, a prominent resident of Bennington township, died March 10, 1900.

Mr. Hagan was born in Hinchinbrook, Lennox county, Ontario, 49 years before. At the age of eighteen he came to Bennington township, where, with untiring industry and energy, he acquired for himself and family their present home.

**MASON.**—William Henry Mason died at his home in Owosso, June 27, 1899. Mr. Mason was born in Owosso township, May 24, 1843. He was married in 1866. In 1867 he moved to Owosso and engaged in the lumber business and erected and operated a planing mill. A widow and one son, Marion, also one brother, George T. Mason, and one sister, Mrs. Esther Whaly, of Ada, survive him.

**PATTERSON.**—Captain Andrew Jackson Patterson died May 13, 1900, at his home in the city of Owosso. Mr. Patterson was born in Clarkston, Monroe county, New York, May 31, 1833. He came with his parents to Lapeer county, Michigan, in 1844. Later he learned the printer's trade. He was married to Miss Nancy Griswold, of Holly, N. Y., in 1855, and came to Owosso soon after, where for a few years he worked at his trade on the old Shiawassee American. In 1861 he enlisted in Company H, Fifth Michigan Infantry, and served as corporal for about a year, and was discharged for disability. He was commissioned captain of Company E, Twenty-fifth Michigan Infantry, and remained with his company until the regiment was mustered out of service. After the war Captain Patterson was engaged in general merchandising till 1871, when he became owner and manager of the National

hotel. His wife, one son, Fred R., and one daughter, Mrs. I. M. Turnbush, survive him.

**PRIEST.**—George W. Priest, of Venice township, died September 8, 1899, at the ripe age of 85 years. Mr. Priest was born in Jefferson county, New York, March 14, 1814. He obtained there the meagre education afforded at the district schools. He drove a team to Michigan in 1836 and settled with his parents in Washtenaw county, where, on May 18, 1839, he married Miss Judith A. Luther. Soon after the young couple came to Shiawassee county and located 80 acres of wild land in Venice township. Five children blessed this union, Mrs. Laura Youngs of Corunna, Albert Priest of Houghton, Mrs. Helen P. Leland of Durand, and Joseph Priest of Owosso, and George T. Priest living at the homestead. An adopted daughter, Mrs. Minnie Lyons, also lives at the homestead. Mrs. Priest died five years prior to her husband's death.

**SALISBURY.**—Mrs. Martha Salisbury, widow of the late Ezekiel Salisbury, died in Owosso November 3, 1899, aged 84 years. For 33 years she had been a prominent resident of the city, and had been associated with much of the social and religious life which have been such prominent factors in making Owosso what it is. Mrs. Salisbury was born in Vermont and was married there, coming to Michigan 60 years before her death. The family settled on a farm seven miles south of Owosso. Of eight children born to her, the mother leaves three, Mrs. B. W. Brewer and D. R. Salisbury of Owosso and John Salisbury of Corunna.

**SOPER.**—Timothy R. Soper died August 3, 1899, aged 71 years.

He was born at Penn Yan, Yates county, N. Y., October 28, 1828. He moved to Michigan in 1844 and settled in the township of Burns, Shiawassee county, where he resided until 1888, when he moved to Vernon, where he spent the remaining years of his life.

He married Miss Rhoda A. Keyes, a resident of Burns, in 1867, who, with their five children, survive him.

**VAN DUSEN.**—Lawrence Van Dusen of Owosso died February 24, 1900, at the age of 74 years.

He had resided in the vicinity of Owosso for more than 30 years, and was one of the best-known figures on the streets. For many years he was prominent in politics. For 12 years, up to 1889, he was justice of the peace. In 1882 he was elected to the legislature. At different times he was member of the school board, alderman, deputy sheriff, constable and coroner.

He leaves a wife and three sons, Judson, Charles and Steven T., all residents of Owosso.

**YERKES.**—Joseph W. Yerkes died at his home in Vernon November 30, 1899.

Joseph Watkins Yerkes was born at Romulus, Seneca county, N. Y., May 5, 1824, and came to Michigan with his parents in 1838 and settled on a farm six miles east of Vernon. He was married March 4, 1848, to Miss Sarah Emeline Sawtelle of Venice township. They moved to Vernon village in 1864, where he was ever after engaged in active business. He leaves a widow and three children, Mrs. Len I. Clark of Chicago, Fred Yerkes of Lorain, Ohio, and Albert Yerkes of Vernon.

**YOUNGS.**—Thomas R. Youngs, an old pioneer of Caledonia township, died November 3, 1899. Mr. Youngs was born September 26, 1815, at Hampton, Windham county, Connecticut. In 1826 he came with his father's family to Michigan, when they located in Lapeer county. Thomas, at the age of 18 years, went to the state of New York and worked on the Erie canal two years, then sailed on the ship Rambler from Nantucket on a three years' cruise. He saved three hundred dollars by the trip (a good large sum for a young man in those days), and then came to Michigan and settled upon 160 acres of wild land, where he lived for 60 years and where he died. At the time of settling there his nearest neighbor was two miles away. He was married to Miss Nancy M. Hart in 1841. At one time Mr. Youngs owned 600 acres of land, which he divided with his children until he reduced it to 160 acres. He leaves a widow and three children, Mrs. I. Parling of North Star, Mrs. I. Angus and Albert Youngs of Caledonia.

**WHEELAN.**—Clark Wheelan was born in the town of Clarkson, Monroe county, N. Y., February 18, 1820, and died September 25, 1899. His parents having died when he was eight years old, he was adopted by a man by the name of Trumble Granger, with whom he lived until grown. He was married November, 1843, to Miss Laura B. Akin. In 1846 they moved to Michigan and purchased 160 acres of land in Shiawassee township, afterwards adding to the farm by purchase 208 acres more. He leaves two sons, Frank M. and Charles A. Wheelan, and two adopted children, Mrs. Rev. I. McLain and John I. Wheelan.

**WOOD.**—John Wood, a pioneer resident of Corunna, died August 1, 1899.

Mr. Wood was born at Duddington, Scotland, May 20, 1819. In Sep-



tember, 1856, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Blee. In 1857 they came to America and located in London, Canada. In 1868 the family came to Corunna. Four children were born to them, John, Lilly and James, who reside at home, and Annie, a married daughter, who lives in Detroit.

## ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.

BY CALVIN H. STARR.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Arnold, Henry G.....	Leonidas.....	— —, 1899.	86	Settled in the county in the early thirties.
Butler, Mrs. Richard.....	Centreville.....	— —, 1899.	80	An early resident.
Knox, Mrs. Charles.....	Nottawa.....	— —, 1899.	84	Came to the county in the early thirties.
Moore, Alfred B.....	Three Rivers.....	May 1, 1900...	84	Came to Three Rivers in 1838.
Moore, Horace.....	Sherman.....	— —, 1900.	80	Came to St. Joseph county in 1843.
Morrison, Mrs. Nancy H.....	Centreville.....	Feb. —, 1899..	81	An early settler.
Waters, Chris.....	Nottawa.....	— —, 1899.	82	

**FLETCHER.**—Mrs. John Fletcher died at Centreville during the year 1899, at the advanced age of 88 years.

She was one of the early pioneers of Michigan, coming into the state and locating in St. Joseph county in 1829. In 1831 she married J. W. Fletcher, and they were life-long residents of the county. Mrs. Fletcher was a member of the State Pioneer and Historical Society and one of the vice presidents for 1877.

**GRAY.**—Barber Gray died in March, 1899, aged 87 years.

Mr. Gray came to the territory of Michigan in 1835 and took up the farm in Lockport township which was his home for more than sixty-four years.

**HECOX.**—Hamden A. Hecox died October, 1899, aged 73 years.

When but three years of age he came from the east with his parents, who settled in St. Joseph county, and three years later they took up their residence in Nottawa, where the seventy years of the life of the subject of this sketch were spent.

He was a member of the State Pioneer and Historical Society, and one of its vice presidents in 1890.

**THOMAS.**—James Thomas died at his home in Lockport township April, 1900, aged 87 years.

Deceased was a native of France, but came to America when a young man, and took up land in St. Joseph county in 1834, and continued a resident of the county until his death, a period of sixty-six years.

All of the eleven persons who died during the year were pioneers who bore the burdens in the heat of the day when luxuries were an unknown quantity and the meagre comforts of life were few. The average age is 83 years.

### TUSCOLA COUNTY.

BY W. A. HEARTT.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Archer, Sylvia .....	Ellington.....	Nov. 23, 1899..	67	A native of Ontario.
Bastons, John.....	Almer.....	March 1, 1900..	69	A native of England.
Beardsley, Ebenezer.....	Caro.....	May 5, 1899....	80	A native of Vermont.
Beardsley, Mary.....	Kingston.....	Nov. 28, 1899..	40	A native of Michigan.
Bearup, Eli.....	Dayton.....	March 10, 1900	75	A native of New York.
Beecher, Caroline.....	Junata.....	March 3, 1900..	75	A native of New York.
Bentley, James.....	Elmwood.....	Aug. 22, 1899..	67	A native of Ontario.
Black, Lucinda.....	Akron.....	Sept. 19, 1899..	83	A native of Rhode Island.
Booth, Diantha M.....	Junata.....	Aug. 31, 1899..	62	A native of Michigan.
Britten, Martha A.....	Junata.....	May 13, 1899..	51	A native of Pennsylvania.
Burse, Abel.....	Almer.....	March 19, 1900	74	A native of Ontario.
Calloway, Orpa.....	Kingston.....	Sept. 14, 1899..	62	A native of Ohio.
Chambers, Ann.....	Indian Fields.....	Feb. 28, 1900..	66	A native of Canada.
Chapman, Thos.....	Almer.....	Feb. 16, 1900..	77	A native of England.
Clark, Arnold B.....	Dayton.....	Aug. 27, 1899..	67	A native of Canada.
Clark, Elizabeth.....	Dayton.....	Sept. 15, 1899..	75	A native of Canada.
Clark, Geo.....	Junata.....	March 1, 1900..	58	A native of Michigan.
Clark, Nancy A.....	Kingston.....	May 28, 1899..	46	A native of Canada.
Dale, Martha.....	Caro.....	Jan. 21, 1900..	45	A native of Michigan.
Delling, Mrs. W.....	Caro.....	Jan. 4, 1900...	61	A native of Michigan.
Everett, Thos.....	Kingston.....	Feb. 20, 1900..	78	A native of England.
Green, George.....	Dayton.....	Oct. 31, 1899..	77	A native of England.
Harmon.....	Almer.....	March 17, 1900	67	A native of Michigan.
Haskins, Elizabeth.....	Indian Fields.....	Sept. 10, 1899..	64	A native of New Jersey.
Hawkins, Wm. L.....	Elmwood.....	Feb. 26, 1900..	74	A native of New York.

Name.	Residence.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Higgins, George .....	Kimwood .....	May 9, 1899....	84	A native of England.
Hillar, Nancy .....	Almer .....	April 28, 1900..	80	A native of New York.
Hutchinson, Orlas .....	Ellington .....	May 22, 1899..	84	A native of Canada.
Imerson, Thomas .....	Akron .....	Feb. 5, 1900....	50	A native of Canada.
Kile, Nancy A. ....	Juniata .....	Sept. 7, 1899..	86	A native of Pennsylvania.
Klock, George .....	Vassar .....	Feb. 14, 1900..	73	A native of Canada.
Knight, Joel B. ....	Juniata .....	Nov. 15, 1899..	52	A native of New York.
Longyear, Nancy J. ....	Columbia .....	Sept. 23, 1899..	70	A native of Ontario.
Lossen, Nicholas .....	Caro .....	July 27, 1899..	68	A native of Germany.
McBain, Elizabeth .....	Caro .....	July 16, 1899..	48	A native of Michigan.
McKinney, Paulina .....	Ellington .....	May 31, 1899..	80	A native of New York.
Miller, Nelson .....	Juniata .....	Sept. 24, 1899..	57	A native of Michigan.
Moreland, Willard .....	Fairgrove .....	April 14, 1900..	73	A native of New York.
Morris, Wm. ....	Caro .....	March 27, 1900	80	A native of Ireland.
Myers, Harriet A. ....	Dayton .....	Sept. 27, 1899..	55	A native of Ohio.
Newton, S. B. ....	Arbela .....	June 3, 1899....	78	A native of Connecticut.
Ogger, Mary A. ....	Almer .....	Feb. 14, 1900..	78	A native of Germany.
Ormsbee, Wm. B. ....	Vassar .....	Sept. 20, 1899..	60	A native of New York.
Pattison, Wilson .....	Ellington .....	Oct. 8, 1899....	60	A native of Ontario.
Perry, Chas. F. ....	Tuscola .....	July 29, 1899..	50	A native of Michigan.
Pettiprine, Joe .....	Almer .....	Feb. 9, 1900....	66	A native of Switzerland.
Randall, Elisha P. ....	Almer .....	Oct. 29, 1899..	79	A native of New York.
Rich, Silas .....	Almer .....	June 30, 1899..	86	
Riddle, Albert .....	Caro .....	July 4, 1899....	70	A native of New York.
Sadler, John .....	Watertown .....	July 27, 1899..	72	A native of England.
Smith, John L. ....	Akron .....	Oct. 19, 1899..	83	A native of Canada.
Stevenson, John T. ....	Caro .....	July 13, 1899..	44	A native of Michigan.
Tart, Nancy .....	Caro .....	Oct. 10, 1899..	60	A native of Ontario.
Town, Stephen .....	Denmark .....	Jan. 6, 1900....	90	
Welch, Lorenzo D. ....	Caro .....	Feb. 13, 1900..	71	A native of Vermont.
Westbrook, Eliza .....	Caro .....	Feb. 4, 1900....	54	A native of Michigan.
York, M. D. ....	Arbela .....	March 11, 1900	52	A native of New York.
Young, Samuel .....	Kingston .....	March 11, 1900	89	A native of New Jersey.
Zinn, Elias .....	Almer .....	May 10, 1899..	65	A native of Ohio.

## WASHTENAW COUNTY.

BY M. D. OSBAND.

OSBAND.—Edgar Emmet Osband died in Ypsilanti December 24, 1899, aged 68 years, less 59 days.

Mr. Osband was born in Nankin, Wayne county, Michigan, February 21, 1832, and was educated in the common schools of his locality, supplemented by a short term in a college then located in Leoni, Jackson county, but subsequently removed to Adrian, Lenawee county.

On September 28, 1857, he married Sarah E., daughter of Harcourt and Louisa (Harris) Ferguson, who was also born in Nankin, September 28, 1835. They settled on a farm in their native town.

To them were born two children, William Weaver, May 14, 1861, and Meda Louise, September 16, 1866.

In 1884 they removed to Ypsilanti to give their children the educational advantages of the normal school. In 1887 they removed to Ontonagon, where their children were then engaged in teaching. Two years later they returned to Ypsilanti and built a pleasant home on Summit street, where they resided till his decease.

Mr. Osband was a carpenter and joiner by trade, and he worked at that business till a few weeks before his death. He was a man of undoubted integrity in all his relations of life, and he uniformly retained the love and respect of all with whom he came in contact.

His remains were buried in the old cemetery near his native town, where lie many of his father's family.

Rev. A. F. Bruske, D. D., president of Alma college, a life-long friend of the deceased, conducted the funeral services. There was a large attendance of old-time friends. Dr. Bruske in his discourse referred to his early association with the deceased, when he was a young man and the speaker was a boy. He said, "I have never forgotten that Edgar Osband always had a pleasant word for the poor little barefoot German boy, who couldn't speak a word of English, whenever they met." He spoke of him as a member of his church, as a chorister in his choir, and as a general peacemaker. He recalled his recollections of the father of the deceased, and of the Rev. Marcus Swift, whom he characterized as "that grand, great-hearted christian minister," and he paid a loving tribute to the memory of Daniel Straight and others of the old neighbors, and illustrated his remarks by appropriate anecdotes of them, all

of whom lie in the cemetery across the street from the church in which he was speaking, and to which, he said, "I brought my own mother from Saginaw and buried her beside my father over there."

Mr. Osband is survived by his wife, son and daughter and three older brothers. He was the fifth of six brothers.

His parents were William Osband, born in Palmyra, N. Y., June 1, 1796, emigrated to Nankin, Michigan, in October, 1825, where he died November 24, 1861; and Martha (Reeves) Osband, born in West Hampton, Long Island, N. Y., 1798, and died in Nankin November 17, 1848.

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### MEMORIAL OF GEORGE H. GREENE.

It is most fitting that an official of a society, who was proven worthy of holding his position so long as did our late secretary, should receive more than a passing word of recognition when he lays down his work, completed; and when that end comes by reason of a touch of our grim, yet sometimes welcome friend, death, the only thing left us to do is to record his faithfulness that those who come after may recognize our appreciation of his work. So today at our first meeting after he has gone out from our midst, we bring our tribute to the memory of our friend and brother, George Henry Greene.

The first representative of the family in America, one John Greene, a surgeon, came in 1635 to Salem, Massachusetts, but after a time was banished from this colony and joined Roger Williams in Rhode Island. Braving all the hardships, privations and dangers of that early pioneer life, he and his sons and daughters left to future generations a courage and energy which have made many of the representatives of the family prominent in the history of our country. Christopher and Nathaniel Greene, revolutionary patriots, are names known in every home; Julia Ward Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" perhaps comes the nearest to a national anthem that we shall have for many years, and William H. Prescott, whose researches into Aztec and Peruvian history, which read like a romance, are the pioneers of all study in this direction, are also members of the family who in the literary world will live as long as the American nation exists, and there are several others perhaps less known, who have filled responsible positions.

Augustus Greene, the father of our friend, came to improve his fortune near what was then the western frontier early in the century, and at

his home on Grosse Isle, Wayne county, October 12, 1836, George H. Greene was born. When a boy the family moved to Raisinville, Monroe county, and here he attended school, preparing for a year's work at Yates' academy in Orleans county, N. Y., after which he taught in Monroe county for nine years. He was married April 8, 1862, to Julia Lucretia Baldwin of Raisinville, and a year later they came to Lansing, where he started a chair factory. In 1866 he entered the reform school, now industrial school for boys, as overseer of the cane shop, but it was soon evident that he could fill a higher position, and he was appointed the principal teacher, but soon this was short of his merits and he was offered the position of assistant superintendent. In 1871 he entered the office of the secretary of state to assist in the compilation of the census, and when this work was finished obtained a clerkship in the auditor general's department, his faithfulness to his duties being soon rewarded by his appointment as chief of a division, which position he filled for more than twenty years.

Of his church relationships but little can be said, as for the most part he was rather a silent force than an active worker. His parents were Methodists, or at least he attended that church in his youth, but he was inclined to Congregationalism. Living at the north end of town where there was no church of that denomination, and but few of any others who preferred their ritual, he joined a band of men and women in the founding of the Franklin Street Presbyterian church, and was for several years connected with its management as an elder, and also as superintendent of its Sunday school. In 1885 or 1886, however, he became identified with the Plymouth Congregational society.

Early in life he joined the Masonic fraternity, and as it is quite probable that a majority of the men pioneers are also Masons, I cannot do better than quote what his lodge says of him. "In all his activities in life it was in Masonry where his influence and example were most felt and appreciated. His depth of research in the great principles of Masonry, which he ever exemplified by his daily life, his ripe experience and profound judgment in Masonic jurisprudence, will ever stand as monuments to his superior intelligence and moral worth in the annals of Michigan Masonry, while his pure and well spent life will be a shining landmark in its history.

"Brother Greene was made a Master Mason in Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M., on May 1, 1865. During four years, 1871 to 1874 inclusive, he was Worshipful Master of the lodge; nine years, 1874 to 1883, he was Excellent High Priest of Capitol Chapter No. 9, R. A. M., one

year, 1879, Thrice Illustrious Master of Lansing Council No. 29 of Royal and Select Masters; nine years, 1877 to 1886, Prelate of Lansing Commandery No. 25, Knights Templar. In 1883 he was Most Illustrious Grand Master of the Grand Council of Royal and Select Masters of Michigan, and at the time of his death was Grand Treasurer of said body.

"For over a quarter of a century he was one of the leaders in all the Masonic grand bodies in Michigan. While he never sought preferment, his good sense as well as thorough knowledge of Masonic history and jurisprudence caused his advice to be frequently sought. He was repeatedly called on for important committee work at the annual communications of the several grand bodies. In his mother lodge, No. 33, especially during the last ten years, he was repeatedly honored. In behalf of this, his lodge, Chief Justice McGrath presented him with a beautiful gold-mounted cane in 1895. Later the lodge procured his portrait and hung it in the lodge room. He was lodge historian and compiled a complete register of the Masonic history of all members ever connected with the lodge. He was without question one of the most beloved Masons in Lansing." These are the words of intimate associates who feel an individual loss and speak from their heart.

He at one time joined the I. O. of O. F. society, but afterwards dropped all active connection with it from individual preference for the Masons. In 1888 the national centennial celebration of the establishment of the Northwest territory was held at Marietta, Ohio, and Mr. Greene was one of the five commissioners appointed by Governor Luce to represent Michigan in this convention.

His tastes were those of a student and historian, and three years after the founding of the Michigan Pioneer Society he became interested in its work, joining the association in 1877. In 1879 he became the corresponding secretary, to which was added in 1892 the duties of recording secretary and charge of the pioneer room at the capitol. His interest in the work was as great as if it were bringing him a fortune, instead of being almost a labor of love, and every one of the quaint possessions of the society was as precious in his eyes as a family heirloom might have been. As the legislature of 1897 declined to appropriate any money for the publication of the records of the society, nothing could be done with them at that time and Mr. Greene devoted much of his leisure for a couple of years towards the compilation of a family genealogy, but had not quite finished it when failing health compelled him to stop all work.

During these two years he made extra effort to have the annual

meetings interesting, enlisting the services of the younger generation so as to perpetuate the society when the real pioneers shall have passed away.

At the next session of the legislature an appropriation was granted but so small that it would be necessary to omit some of the less important papers, and he commenced the laborious task of reading, cutting and sometimes putting entirely aside the manuscripts which had accumulated. His part in this was brief, however, for about a week or ten days before the time came for our meeting a year ago he became confined to the house. His mind, however, was here, and he was literally "faithful unto death," for only about two hours before his spirit passed beyond he gave instructions about papers and work. This was June 22, 1899.

It is at once an easy and a difficult task to write a history of such a man. His daily life is so simple and uniform that only a few events stand out more prominently than the rest, and these few are easy to record, but the matter between these lines is the part we must read if we would come to realize his work or his influence upon the world. This is the intangible, elusive part, so nearly impossible to describe, but so clearly felt by all who come in contact with such a nature.

In the physical world when men come to the open prairie or the gently rolling country they build their homes, till the fertile soil and the love of it enters their hearts, becoming a part of their lives, while the mountains, grand and beautiful as they may be, are left for the occasional traveler who admires, or the few who seek them for the medium of wealth they contain.

So in lives, the man who towers above his fellows, making his mark for a day the wonder and admiration of the world for a time, is sought out by the ambitious ones who wish his help, and perhaps appreciated by a very few whose lives touch his closely. His influence is great, it is true, sometimes for good, often not so fortunately; but the gentle, quiet men and women, whose lives are level and even, and whose characters we can see clearly, who think deeply, love humanity strongly, and live their appointed days simply are the great moral force that moves mankind. They are the ones whose friendship we seek, the rock upon which all society rests.

When each of the circles in which a man moves feels that to their own particular work he has given his best efforts, it denotes a strong personality and a broad mind, and this was certainly true of Mr. Greene. In each society with which he was connected his task was so faith-



fully performed that that particular thing seemed to be the work in which he was especially interested. The opinion of the church and lodge is repeated in our own organization. His word was good, his opinion valued, his work true, and it is a personal loss to every member that we are to meet him no more.

My own acquaintance with him was very slight, and was almost wholly confined to his work here, and there was more than one evidence to me that the society was very near his thoughts; its success, which seems imperiled by the passing of the old pioneers was a serious matter to him, as he recognized its value to our state, and no better monument can be raised to his memory than to go on with the work of gathering and compiling the records of our early settlers, and instilling into the minds of their children's children the ideas of bravery and perseverance in overcoming all the difficulties of life.

For our daily walk let his life be an example, taking his guide for ours, that we may at the end come, like him, to the "peace which passeth all understanding."

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### THEODATUS TIMOTHY LYON.

A Biographical Sketch Prepared by his Executor.

CHAS. W. GARFIELD.

Theodatus Timothy Lyon was born at Lima, Livingston county, New York, January 23, 1813. He lived a reputable and very useful life. He died at South Haven, Van Buren county, Michigan, February 5, 1900. This in brief is the record, and one of which any of us might well be proud. It is desirable, however, in the transactions of the State Historical Society, to have something more than this with reference to citizens who have had to do with the building of the state. For the following account which I shall give of Mr. Lyon I am indebted largely to notes that I found among his private papers, which came to me as executor of his estate, and observations of my own made during the intimate acquaintance of more than a quarter of a century with Mr. Lyon's career.

Thomas Lyon, the paternal grandfather of T. T. Lyon, was a native of Connecticut, and for a time held a commission in the army during the revolutionary war. At an early day he removed with his family to western Massachusetts, and subsequently to Avon, Livingston county, New

York, where he died in 1838 at an advanced age. Timothy Lyon, one of his sons, and the father of the subject of this sketch, was born in 1788, probably prior to the removal of the family from Connecticut. He served an apprenticeship as architect and millwright, and followed this business, together with the management of a farm, until his removal to the then territory of Michigan in 1828. On January 1, 1812, he married Mary, the daughter of Jonah Davis, an immigrant from Delaware county, New York, who had settled upon a farm in the adjoining town of Lima, in which town he founded his home and remained until the removal of the family to Michigan. There were four children in this family, two sons and two daughters, the oldest being Theodatus Timothy.

"Theo," as he was familiarly called, was born at Lima, January 23, 1813, and until the removal of the family to Michigan in 1828, enjoyed the life of a happy boy on the farm, and was educated in the schools of the town. Mr. Lyon often recalled the fact that he heard the booming of the cannon stationed along the line of "Clinton ditch," which telegraphed to the people of Albany the fact that the waters of Lake Erie had been admitted to the western end of the canal. This event occurred during the last visit of Lafayette to the United States. Although he was quite young, at the date of the occurrence, he had a vivid recollection of the intense excitement growing out of the alleged abduction of Morgan by the Free Masons, and of the heated political contest which followed it.

It was only four years after the completion of the canal that the family decided to remove to Michigan, and embarked on the "line boat" for Buffalo on this new waterway. From Buffalo a passage was secured on the schooner "United States" for the voyage to Detroit; the trip from Detroit to Plymouth was made on foot through the Bucklin and Nankin woods. Plymouth, at that time, was an ambitious village, consisting of two log houses and the body of an unfinished log shop. The father had collected a small stock of goods, which were soon offered for sale in a log building near what has since been known as "Plymouth Corners." It was in this commercial venture that T. T. Lyon acquired his earliest experience as a clerk. For some years the practical occupation of the young man was the management of an ashery, made possible by the clearing of the heavily timbered land in the vicinity. For a short time he carried the mail weekly on horseback between Maumee City, Ohio, and Pontiac, Michigan; and semi-weekly between Tecumseh and Monroe.

After the lapse of several years "Theo" returned to his former home at Lima, New York, and in 1834 avowed his purpose of adopting teaching as a life work. He made a rapid review of the branches in preparation for his first certification by the school commissioners, and engaged a school in the village of Conesus, the consideration being thirteen dollars per month. After teaching the winter school successfully he re-entered a select school at Lima, and devoted himself diligently to a review of the usual branches taught in the common schools, and in addition took up algebra, geometry and Latin. The following winter, that of 1835-6, he taught the village school in the thriving village of Penfield, a few miles from the city of Rochester. During this interval, while he was engaged as student and teacher in New York, a rush of immigration to Michigan had set in, and under the stimulus of the inflation of that period his father had widened his scheme of merchandizing at Plymouth, and had established several branches in other places. In conjunction with an enthusiastic New Yorker he had established a grist and saw mill, and the two had become prominent factors in the development of the new country. "Theo" was needed at home and reluctantly gave up for a season his determination to follow pedagogy and assisted his father in closing up the inflated affairs of the company of which he was a member, and which had collapsed in the general depression of the period.

As a result of this financial disaster his father became very despondent; abandoning his old habits of business, he pre-empted a parcel of land east of Saginaw bay, living for some time alone. He built a log house, and a forest fire sweeping over the region destroyed all the improvements he had made; and in the effort to save some of his belongings he inhaled smoke and flame, the result of which was his death very soon after at the age of seventy-three years. Mr. Lyon's mother remained at Plymouth, surviving her husband eleven years, dying in 1872 at the age of eighty-one.

After closing up the affairs of his father in the vicinity of Plymouth young Lyon ventured upon the purchase of a saw mill with a farm attached near Plymouth, to which his energies were devoted for several years. While engaged in this undertaking he married Marilla Gregory, daughter of Hon. William S. Gregory of Plymouth, in December, 1838. The alliance with the Gregory family was a most fortunate one, and in a large measure moulded the future career of public spirit into which Mr. Lyon entered. Late in 1841 he disposed of his mill and farming interest, and in the spring of 1842 was appointed keeper of the

Wayne county poorhouse. This institution consisted of a log building upon an eighty acre farm, and the duties of the position included the management of the farm and the care during the winter of about eighty paupers, most of them from Detroit. A change in the political complexion of the appointing board occasioned his retirement from this position in the year 1843. The ensuing four years were spent upon the farm of his father-in-law and in teaching the district school in the village of Northville. It was during this period that he planted a small nursery of root grafts which mainly supplied the trees for the extensive trial orchards which afterward became so famous.

Mr. Lyon during his lifetime occasionally recalled, in conversation with his friends, his first effort in the propagation of fruits. The incident occurred about 1827 while living at Lima. One day, while visiting a grown-up orchard of a neighbor, he found in the top of one of the apple trees a man employed in inserting buds in the smaller branches. He watched the process with the closest attention, and on his return home procured and sharpened an old case knife—the best implement available for the purpose—and proceeded to cut buds from his favorite apple; these were inserted in other trees in the old farm orchard and were successful. This was the first lesson in pomology of the man who afterward became a world wide authority in the science.

During the year of 1847-8 he became possessed of fifty acres of land—a portion of the Gregory farm; nearly all of this was covered with heavy timber, and he commenced clearing and planting immediately thereon the trial orchards which subsequently became the basis of a long line of investigation and experimentation which established his reputation as a pomologist. He gathered from near and from far all of the known varieties of apples and pears that were grown in this country. He soon discovered the fact that there was a great deal of confusion in the nomenclature of these varieties which he obtained, and in many cases, under different names from different localities, he secured scions which were identical. At that time the only work on fruits of America was the first edition of Downing's "Fruits and Fruit Trees of America." He entered into a voluminous correspondence with Charles Downing, John A. Warder, John J. Thomas, Marshal P. Wilder, Patrick Barry and many other leading lights in American pomology; and through this correspondence was able to secure a wide range of information which he classified in his inimitable way for use in his future work for the public. While it was expected that the orchards planted would furnish a living for his family, he gave very little thought to mere money

making; and in obtaining varieties for insertion in these trial orchards he paid absolutely no attention to the commercial needs of the orchard. Numbers of varieties known to be worthless commercially were planted out for simple purposes of study. During the growth and fruiting of these trial orchards he was several times appointed by the State Agricultural society as its representative to the meetings of the American Pomological society.

At a session of the society convened at Philadelphia he exhibited from his orchards over one hundred and twenty varieties of apples in excellent condition. This exhibit attracted a great deal of attention, including as it did nearly all of the known varieties recognized for high quality. The collection was subsequently turned over to Dr. Warder, who exhibited it at the national capitol. Two years later, the managers of the American institute at New York made an earnest request for a similar collection for exhibition at their fair in New York city. The collection was finally sent, with a great deal of hesitation, however, for the reason that the crop of fruit that season was considerably below the average in size and appearance. The collection was exhibited in three lots. Patrick Barry complimented the work as the most valuable lesson in American pomology, and the three collections were awarded the gold, silver and bronze medals of the institute. At the time of this writing they are in the custody of the state, and on exhibition in the state library at Lansing. It was while engaged in the occupation of caring for this fruit farm that the father and mother of his wife, being advanced in years and in feeble health, after having disposed of their farm, became inmates of his family, the mother dying in 1861 at the age of seventy-two, and the father in 1863 at the age of seventy-three. From 1861 to 1865 Mr. Lyon was chosen to the position of member and secretary of the board of superintendents of the poor for Wayne county. Since his earlier appointment as keeper of the county poorhouse the number of inmates had very largely increased, and it was during his occupancy of the position of clerk of the board that his methodical ways led to the establishment of a very perfect system of records for the institution. His work in this capacity was a model of accuracy and perspicuity. It was while occupied in this work and attending the regular semi-monthly meetings of the board that the importance of railroad communication was strongly forced upon his attention, and he mapped out the project of a railroad from Detroit to Howell, Lansing, Allegan, Paw Paw, St. Joseph and Chicago, and as the initial step opened correspondence with persons at Brighton, Howell and Lansing. Like many

other new projects this one was not received with any promise of success. But Mr. Lyon was a persistent man, and ultimately the response from Brighton and Howell proved so encouraging that the initial meeting was convened at New Hudson, a village intermediate between Howell and Brighton; and it was due to this meeting that steps were taken for the organization of a railroad corporation which finally resulted in the building of a railroad that developed into a magnificent system. Mr. Lyon was elected as president of the organization, and in conjunction with Mr. John Allen and William Taft, both of Plymouth, worked out the early details of the Detroit, Lansing & West Michigan Railroad. It was while engaged in railroad matters, which engrossed a great deal of his time and energy, that his orchards became largely entrusted to others. His wife became quite feeble in health, due in large measure to the care of her parents during their last protracted illness; and he moved from the farm and became a resident of the village of Plymouth.

His connection with the railroad enterprise closed in 1872. His active and earnest devotion to other things diverted his attention for some years from horticultural and orchard interests, and his trial orchards, having passed into other hands, he was induced to accept a proposition to assist in the establishment of a nursery at South Haven, Michigan. The argument which had the greatest force in leading him to the adoption of this plan was the hope of restoring his wife's health by the change of residence to the shore of Lake Michigan. This hope was to a considerable degree realized. The contemplated nursery association was organized in 1874, and Mr. Lyon was chosen president. Following so closely after the panic of 1873, the venture proved to be an unfortunate one. In 1877 the association closed up its affairs by the appointment of Mr. Lyon as receiver, and soon thereafter the property was sold at public sale, subject to many incumbrances.

The experience in connection with this unfortunate venture emphasized the fact that Mr. Lyon, although a very careful and painstaking student and wise adviser in all matters of orcharding, was not a financier. He became quite seriously involved in many ways, but while losing the confidence of many business associates, as far as his ability to manage the affairs of a nursery was concerned, he lost nothing in integrity of character or in influence as a skilled pomologist.

Immediately after the organization of the Michigan Pomological society in 1870 Mr. Lyon became a member of the executive board, and continued his close connection with the affairs of the society until within a year of his death. One of the early efforts of the Pomological

society was to frame a list of fruits to be recommended for general cultivation throughout the state. An important committee was established to carry out this project, and Mr. Lyon was made chairman. The report of this committee was adopted by the society, and was the initiatory movement in the most valuable work accomplished by the society in later years, which was the framing of a fruit catalogue for the state, and keeping it up by the use of the added data to be secured in the progress of pomology in our country. Mr. Lyon became permanent chairman of the committee in charge of the preparation of this catalogue, and was continued in charge of this work until within a short time previous to his death.

In 1876 Mr. Lyon was elected president of the Michigan Pomological society, which in 1880 became the Michigan Horticultural society. He was continuously re-elected to this office until 1893, near the close of the eighty-second year of his age, when the increasing infirmities of age compelled his retirement as acting president. The society, however, continued him as honorary president during his lifetime.

The record of Mr. Lyon's career in horticulture, as far as it affects the state of Michigan, is found in the volumes of the Michigan Horticultural society. He prepared very many papers upon technical subjects, the full text of which has been preserved in these volumes, and his annual messages to the society are documents of inestimable value to the fruit growers of the state for all coming time. Among other documents that he prepared during his occupancy of the presidential chair of this society was "the history of Michigan horticulture," which is embodied in one of the annual reports of the society, and which was published by the state as a separate volume and distributed very generally among the pomologists of the country.

His relationship to the American Pomological society became a very intimate and important one after his earlier exhibit of fruits before the society, which brought his merits as a pomologist into recognition. In the biennial volumes of this organization are recorded some of his best technical papers and some of his most valuable reports upon matters referred to him by the association. It was his master hand that promoted the policy of the society which resulted in the uniformity of nomenclature adopted in this country. After the death of Mr. Patrick Barry, who had for years been the chairman of the committee in charge of the catalogue of American fruits, Mr. Lyon was chosen to succeed him, and this position Mr. Lyon occupied until infirmities compelled him to give up all work of this character, near the close of his life.

Mr. Lyon's known reputation as a skilled pomologist led to his selection on many occasions for important and delicate tasks connected with the judging of fruits at expositions. It was at the great New Orleans exposition that occurred a most serious controversy with regard to the relative merits of the citrous fruits exhibited from Florida and from California. It was Mr. Lyon's diplomacy that framed the report which gave proper credit to all parties and prevented an estrangement of localities which would have been exceedingly unfortunate. Mr. Lyon was a wide and keen observer of fruits at all exhibitions he attended, and as a result of these observations he became greatly impressed with the capabilities of Michigan in the production of high grade fruits adapted to the climatic conditions of the state. His conviction amounted to a certainty that in certain species of fruits Michigan could excel her competitors, if her fruits were exhibited properly. It was a source of keen chagrin to him that at the World's Fair held in Chicago, Michigan fruits were inadequately represented, owing to mismanagement on the part of the commission in charge of the Michigan exhibit.

Mr. Lyon's connection with the state experiment station was the result of an active campaign begun by him some years previous to the establishment of the station, which looked toward the recognition of the special adaptability of the west shore of Michigan to fruit growing. He maintained in public speeches and in communications to the press that for the proper development of the unusual capabilities of west Michigan there should be an experiment station established on the west shore for the testing of fruit and the giving of counsel to planters of orchards. It was in recognition of Mr. Lyon's ability to advise in this matter that the board of agriculture finally established at South Haven a sub-station devoted to the testing of fruit for the region of the lake shore, and Mr. Lyon was made the agent of the board in immediate charge of the station. Under the leadership of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Lyon and some others, the people of South Haven secured a piece of land adjoining Mr. Lyon's own place, which was turned over to the board of agriculture for the purposes of the sub-station, and subsequently the board leased of Mr. Lyon his ten-acre fruit farm, and the whole area was converted into a fruit testing station, which is still continued under the management of the board of agriculture. The bulletins of this sub-station are recognized as authority, and are considered by horticulturists everywhere in our country as models of well-classified and methodical observation and experiments in the testing of fruits. Mr. Lyon retained his position in charge of the station until his impaired health



compelled him to reluctantly ask relief from the work. His successor, however, consulted him in matters of station work as long as his faculties remained unimpaired.

Another important work undertaken by Mr. Lyon was at the suggestion of the division of pomology at Washington. It was during the incumbency of Mr. Coleman as commissioner of agriculture that Mr. H. E. Vandeman was selected to be the head of the division of pomology. Mr. Vandeman knew well the wonderful capabilities of Mr. Lyon, and used him as special agent for the division. Afterward the importance of having a carefully prepared card catalogue of American fruits was brought to the attention of the division by Mr. Lyon, and during his last years a large portion of his time was occupied in the preparation of this catalogue, which was not completed at the time of his death.

Very early in his career as president of the Michigan Horticultural society he developed an interest in forestry, because of the importance of this subject as connected with the future of Michigan as a horticultural state. In his messages to the society, he hammered away at this matter until he compelled people to listen to him, and was greatly rejoiced when, near his end, he knew that a forestry commission had been established in the state.

Mr. Lyon's business career was not a success from the standpoint of the acquirement of property. He was a philanthropist rather than a business man, an intelligent student rather than a successful money maker. This was because of the habit of mind of the man; it was impossible for him to keep the business end of things constantly before him. As a lover of mankind and a public-spirited citizen he was constantly making his business subserve what he believed to be the higher motives. This meant helpfulness to a great many people, but at a sacrifice of money in his own pocket. Again, he was too painstaking in the details of things to make a successful venture in business, and in the absorption of his mind with these details he was very apt to neglect the matter of margin. Again, it was impossible for Mr. Lyon to handle help as machinery, and he was not successful in utilizing men for the making of money. In truth, Mr. Lyon minimized money values all along the line; he had no time for money making, because other things seemed to him so much more important in the building up of a career.

There were some personal characteristics of Mr. Lyon that are worthy of crystallization in a biographical sketch. He had great equanimity of temper under very trying circumstances; he had what we generally term poise, and rarely, if ever, lost his head under the most exciting

conditions. He had a deeply religious nature, and saw the spiritual side of movements and magnified them in his estimate of values. He had extraordinary firmness, insomuch that, having once taken a position, it was with great difficulty that he was moved from it by any argument, however convincing. In his own controversies, and he had many, his strength lay in his accuracy of statement. He rarely had to take anything back, and he was not equivocal in his method of putting things. In his public papers, given before associations and public gatherings, he was rather prosaic in his expression and not attractive in his enunciation, so that many people, not especially interested in the topics he discussed, considered him dull. This was not true with people who were interested in the things he discussed, because he was so thorough in his development of a subject. One characteristic that was uppermost and very noticeable to all people was the old-time, gentlemanly courtesy that always characterized his relationships with men and with women. He was mild and thoughtful of others, careful to avoid injuring feelings, and always made prominent the delightful amenities of life.

Mr. Lyon was a man of wonderful pertinacity; his continuity of purpose found its expression in never giving up a plan until it was absolutely certain that it could not be carried out.

His chirography was very perfect, even until within a short time of his death; his articles for the press, and his public papers in handwriting, punctuation and orthography were as nearly perfect as one ever finds documents of this kind. He was greatly interested in the typewriter, and for years gave some thought to the development of a machine of his own. He learned the art of typewriting after he was eighty years old, as an assistance to his failing eyesight.

There are some general observations with regard to the life of Mr. Lyon that one will be excused for making, even if they seem somewhat fulsome. He had extraordinary probity of character, and was thoroughly intrenched in his righteousness; he was not willing to be a good citizen simply, but delighted to be something more; he was a public-spirited citizen, and was constantly in advance of his fellows in his suggestions of public undertakings for the welfare and happiness of people. There was not a lazy thing about Mr. Lyon; he was continuously active, and while not a rapid worker was so continuous in his work that he accomplished a great deal. He was a man of clearly defined opinions upon things outside of his specialties. In politics there was no uncertainty to his views. In religious matters he was not satisfied to deal with generalities, but had clearly defined views upon the technicalities of the

ology; he was in line with the prophets of old in that he was constantly giving expression to advanced views upon all public matters, even against the notions of the general public that had not reached to his level of insight.

He had great facility of expression and a wide vocabulary; his sentences were always very perfect and his expression of thought was never involved. As indicated in what has been said heretofore Mr. Lyon was strongly partisan in his views, and because of this had the reputation of being somewhat intolerant of the views of those who opposed him in thought; it was always true of him, however, that he gave credit to whom credit was due. Sometimes his friends considered him somewhat lacking in diplomacy because of his directness of expression and unwillingness to yield a point for the acquirement of another.

With all his decision of character and clearly-cut opinions, he did not prove to be a good presiding officer, largely because he had so great a measure of courtesy that he was constantly using that he could not bring himself to shut a fellow member off from debate, even if he was over-reaching time and had become thoughtless of the feelings of other people. But Mr. Lyon was eminently fitted for the position of secretary, first, because he had genius, second, accuracy of statement and clearness in his expression of details, and as chairman of a committee to make exhaustive investigation and report fully upon any subject or method he was unequaled.

In recognition of Mr. Lyon's eminent ability as a pomologist and his wide influence in moulding the horticulture of Michigan, the state agricultural college, in 1896, conferred upon him the honorary degree of master of horticulture.

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## SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GENERAL JOHN R. WILLIAMS.

BY J. R. WILLIAMS.

John R. Williams, first mayor of Detroit under the charter, was the only son of Judge Thomas Williams, a native of Albany, who came to Detroit shortly after the surrender of the town to the English, as early as 1767, and perhaps as early as 1765. The mother of John R. Williams was Cecile Campau, sister of Joseph Campau, to whom Thomas Williams was married by Colonel De Peyster, the British commander of Detroit, May 7, 1781. John R. Williams was born May 4, 1782, and was

baptized by Col. De Peyster, in his father's lifetime, in the absence of an English clergyman.

Thomas Williams died November 30, 1785, leaving a large property for the time. All his property, with the exception of some real estate in Albany, N. Y., was lost or dissipated through the carelessness, or perhaps rascality, of John Casety, his partner and former clerk, and the lavishness of his wife, Cecile, and her second husband, Jacques Lauzon, or Lozon, whom she married May 1, 1790. When at the age of 15 or 16 John R. Williams started out to make his own way in the world, nothing was left of his father's estate in Michigan but a farm of about 600 acres on the River Huron, of Lake St. Clair, where he and his mother and her family had been living for some years.

His first employer seems to have been his uncle, Joseph Campau, but he soon seized the opportunity which was presented to him of entering the army. In the spring of 1800 he received an appointment as cadet in the 2d regiment of infantry, probably through the influence of his uncle, Mr. Robert McClallen of Albany, who was then state treasurer of New York. Williams joined his regiment at camp Allegheny, near Pittsburgh, in April or May, 1800, and appears to have served as a cadet about six months, and for about a year more in the commissary department, first as a civil employe and later as the agent for the contractor for commissary supplies.

Early in 1802 Williams is found associated as a partner in business with his uncle, Joseph Campau. There is a story that the young man made his way back to Detroit unattended through the wilderness from camp on the Ohio near Fort Massac. He probably did follow the old French trail, via the Wabash and Miami rivers, but it is likely that he was alone throughout the journey.

When Detroit was incorporated as a township of the county of Wayne, in January, 1802, Williams, then only twenty years old, was one of the officers chosen at the first town meeting on the fifth of April of that year. His office was that of town clerk. Shortly afterwards, in the same year, he was appointed adjutant of the militia of Wayne county.

In the autumn of this year he went to Montreal to buy goods on account of the firm of Campau & Williams. After passing the Niagara portage, and while on board of a small sloop in the river, he engaged in a duel with a Frenchman or French Canadian named LaSalle, said to have been a descendant of the famous explorer of that name. The opponents exchanged shots in the tiny cabin of the sloop, from oppo-

site sides of the cabin table, and LaSalle received a wound, supposed to be mortal.

For his part in this affair Williams was arrested and confined first at Niagara and afterwards at Montreal; but as LaSalle did not die of his wound, his opponent was finally released.

In 1803 he is again found in Detroit. He dissolved partnership with Joseph Campau as soon as he returned, and from that time on conducted business for himself.

In August, 1804, he succeeded in having himself appointed guardian of his two sisters, Catherine and Elizabeth, and about the same time he obtained from Peter Audrain, judge of the court of probate for Wayne county, letters of administration on the estate of his father, Thomas Williams, and a revocation of the "curatorship" on this estate, formerly granted to James Frazer by Judge Powell of Canada. This revocation aroused so much opposition from certain persons, among whom was Elijah Brush, attorney for Thomas Williams' English creditors, that the letters of administration granted to John Williams\* were speedily revoked, and the record of the same was expunged.

In 1804 he was one of the trustees of the town of Detroit and appears to have been re-elected the following year. After the arrival of Governor Hull, he was made captain of artillery in Col. Brush's legion, and was also made a justice of the peace shortly afterwards. On account of differences with Gov. Hull and the judges he resigned his appointments as captain and justice June 26, 1807.

From this time until after the war of 1812 he held no public appointments in Michigan. He was simply a private of militia in 1812,† having been drafted as a twelve months' man for the legion, and though he furnished a substitute, he went with his company whenever it was turned out. He appears to have been at the battle of Brownstown, August 5, 1812, and was certainly with his company when Hull made his disgraceful capitulation.

He was paroled after the surrender of Detroit and allowed to proceed east with his family. He fixed himself in Albany for the remainder of the war, conducting a mercantile business in that city.

For about a year, he held an appointment as captain of a company of militia of the city of Albany.

His company was turned out for the defense of New York at a time when it was supposed to be threatened by the British, but saw no active service.

\*The middle initial "R" was not inserted into his name until about the year 1807.

†He was not a major during the war of 1812. Statement in Farmer's History and other authorities, to the effect that he held such a commission, are erroneous.

Shortly after the close of the war he returned to Detroit and resumed his business in that town.

In 1817 he was appointed one of the associate justices of the county court, and in the same year was appointed adjutant general of the militia of the territory. When the bank of Michigan was organized in 1818 he was elected its first president, and was several times re-elected.

He drew the first charter of the city of Detroit and was elected its first mayor in 1824, and was five times re-elected, serving in 1825, 1830, 1844, 1845 and 1846.

In 1829 he was appointed by the president and confirmed by the senate as major general of the militia of Michigan. General Cass announced his appointment to him in these words:

"Washington, March 10, 1829.

"Dear Sir—I have the pleasure to inform you that your nomination as a major general has been confirmed by the senate. I shall now confidently rely upon your exertions to place our militia on a respectable footing, and I am well satisfied that this confidence will not be misplaced. Larned and Stockton are the brigadiers.

"Sincerely your friend,

"Lew. Cass."

"Major Gen. Williams."

The Detroit Gazette, the democratic organ in Michigan, was burned out in April, 1830, and in order to provide the faithful of that political party with sound news and doctrine, John R. Williams and Joseph Campau bought out the Oakland County Chronicle and moved the type and presses to Detroit, where, under the firm name of Joseph Campau and Co., they commenced the publication of the "Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer," May 5, 1831. John P. Sheldon, the former editor of the Gazette, was the first editor. After Mr. Sheldon's resignation, which occurred in about three months, Ferdinand Williams, eldest son of John R. Williams, acted as editor for a short time. The paper soon changed hands, but not its politics, and the "Free Press" of today is its direct descendant.

The "Black Hawk" war grew out of the removal of the Sac and Fox Indians to the west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was one of the principal chiefs who opposed the removal, and being in communication with the British authorities at Malden, below Detroit, seems to have relied on some support from Canada. A broil with a band of Menominee Indians, in which a number of the latter were butchered, was followed

by a demand for the surrender of the murderers. The troops dispatched to enforce this order were under the command of General Atkinson, but before they reached the spot Black Hawk was already in motion. He had crossed the Mississippi into the present state of Wisconsin, then part of the territory of Michigan, and had moved down upon Illinois.

Hostilities soon commenced and threw the border into a great state of alarm. Governor Mason of Michigan, acting under orders from Washington, issued a call for volunteers. Two companies responded from Detroit, the Detroit City Guards and a troop of light dragoons. They were placed under the command of General John R. Williams, the senior militia officer of the territory and ordered to march to Chicago. On arriving at Saline they found other companies of infantry concentrated there and at this point the infantry were ordered to return, but General Williams and the dragoons pushed on to Chicago. The command made an excursion to the Naper settlement, which was threatened by the savages, but with this exception remained at Chicago without active employment, and after the defeat of Black Hawk by General Atkinson received orders to return to Detroit. Other Michigan volunteers were in the field during this war from the Wisconsin part of the territory, and some of them saw very exciting times. A very readable account of the campaign by Col. E. Buckner (Board?), U. S. army, is contained in Michigan Pioneer Collections XII, 424.

General Williams presided over the "snap convention" which assembled at Ann Arbor in December, 1836, (otherwise known as the "frost-bitten convention"), which accepted the terms imposed by congress for the admission of Michigan into the union. The holding of this convention was a very venturesome and rather revolutionary proceeding, but the peculiar condition into which the community had gotten—neither state nor territory—made a revolutionary move of some sort almost indispensable.

While in active business in Detroit Gen. Williams was a steady purchaser of real estate. He erected one of the first business buildings of any size in Detroit, the Williams block, long since torn down, which formerly stood at the corner of Bates street and Jefferson avenue. He was enabled by his prudent methods of business and untiring energy to carry this real estate through various periods of depression, and at the time of his death, in 1854, had accumulated a considerable fortune. Several of the streets of the city, laid out through his property, bear his name and names derived from his family.

He was married at the age of 22 to his cousin, Mary Mott, daughter

of Capt. Gershom Mott of Lamb's regiment of the revolutionary army. Capt. Mott married Elizabeth Williams of Albany, sister of Thomas Williams, in 1779 or 1780, Mary (Mott) Williams died January 18, 1830.

The children of John R. Williams and Mary Mott Williams were: 1. Ferdinand; 2. Theodore; 3. G. Mott; 4. Elizabeth, first wife of Col. John Winder; 5 and 6. Thomas and Cecilia (twins)—Cecilia died in infancy; 7. John Constantine; 8. James Mott; 9. Mary Catherine Angelica, married first to David Smart and second to Commodore J. P. McKinstry; 10. John C. Devereux.

All of these are now dead. The last survivor was Ferdinand Williams, who died in November, 1896, aged 90.

General John R. Williams died at Detroit October 20, 1854. A long obituary order issued by the adjutant general of the state, John E. Schwartz, will be found in the Detroit Free Press of October 24, 1854.

General Williams is buried in the family lot in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit.

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## HON. WILLIAM L. WEBBER.

### A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE, ACTIVE CAREER AND CHARACTER.

For many years Hon. William L. Webber of Saginaw, a prominent citizen of Michigan and a pioneer of the Saginaw valley, has been an influential and useful member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, taking part in its meetings and contributing to its collections until the infirmities of age prevented further attendance and effort; and now, as his earthly career is nearly ended, it seems to the committee of historians an appropriate occasion to put into permanent form a sketch of his life, active career and character, for which we are largely indebted to the Daily Saginaw Courier-Herald of July 31, 1900, and for additional information relating to the election of Hon. Isaac P. Christianity to the United State senate in 1875, and also relating to Mr. Webber's connection with early coal mining in the Saginaw valley, to Mr. John W. Billings—the data he has kindly furnished not having been heretofore published.

### BIRTH AND BEGINNING.

William L. Webber, by his strong individuality and important achievements, has been a large factor in developing the resources of Saginaw and the state of Michigan, and in shaping their destinies, and his name will ever be prominent among the great leaders in the indus



trial progress and development of the natural wealth of the state of Michigan. He was born in Ogden, Monroe county, New York, July 19, 1825, the son of James S. and Phoebe Webber. The family removed to Ogden in 1824, remaining until 1836, when they came to Michigan and settled in Hartland township, Livingston county. Mr. Webber assisted his father in clearing the land and cultivating its soil, giving his days to hard labor and his evenings to study. When circumstances permitted he attended the district school in winter, supplementing the meager rudimentary studies of the pioneer school by close application at home. In 1844-5 Mr. Webber taught a neighboring school. In the latter year his mother died and the members of the family became separated.

In 1846 Mr. Webber entered the office of Foote & Mowry, at Milford, Mich., with the intention of taking up the practice of medicine, but after two years spent there he decided to study law. In 1848 he opened a select school at Milford, giving his leisure to the study of law, and was admitted to practice at Milford in 1851. In 1849 he married Miss Nancy M. Withington of Livingston county, New York. March 15, 1853, he removed to East Saginaw, where he began a general practice of the law, combining with it for some time the business of handling fire insurance. In June, 1857, he formed a law partnership with John J. Wheeler, the firm being styled Webber & Wheeler, and continued until December 31, 1860. The firm of Webber, Thompson & Gage, with Mr. Webber as senior partner, was formed in 1861. On July 1, 1863, he formed a partnership with Irving M. Smith under the firm name of Webber & Smith which existed for six years, when Mr. Webber retired from general practice.

On the 15th day of February, 1859, the East Saginaw Salt Co. was organized with a capital stock of \$50,000. Mr. Webber drew up the articles of association for the company, circulated the subscription for its stock, and was its secretary for some time. Work on the shaft began in August, 1859, and at a depth of 670 feet a fine quality of brine was struck in May, 1860. In June, 1860, was turned out the first salt from their block.

#### CONNECTION WITH RAILROADS.

In 1857 the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad company was organized and its charter perfected, and in the following year work on the line was begun. Shortly after its organization Mr. Webber was employed as its attorney and counsel, and continued in that capacity until March 1, 1870. To promote the building of the railroad the company received

a grant of 500,000 acres of land. Mr. Webber was now appointed its land commissioner and general solicitor, which office he held until June 1, 1885, administering the trust with fidelity, judgment and success. During the fifteen years there were sold 329,308 acres of land at an average price of \$11.53 per acre. Sales of timber from these lands brought the receipts up to \$4,041,839.24, and with interest charges added made a total of \$4,440,045.60. This enormous business was transacted at an expense of only four and one-half per cent of the collections. On June 1, 1885, Mr. Webber retired from the office of land commissioner, but retained the position of general counsel which he held until January 1, 1892, when he retired.

In 1856, Mr. Jesse Hoyt, of New York, made large investments in Michigan lands, including the site of the village of East Saginaw. Mr. Webber was his attorney until 1870, when he took charge of the F. & P. M. land interests. In 1875 Mr. Hoyt became president of this company, and; on its reorganization, Mr. Webber, as attorney for the bond holders of the road, foreclosed the securities, bid in the property and drew up the articles of association for its successor. Mr. Hoyt, who had acquired a large fortune in lands, etc., died on August 12, 1882, leaving an estate in Michigan valued at about \$4,000,000. Mr. Webber had been Mr. Hoyt's confidential friend and adviser, and on his death Mr. Hoyt left his vast and varied interests to his friend's care.

Since Mr. Hoyt's death the various enterprises which he had inaugurated have been conducted by Mr. Webber, and the portion of the estate not yet closed is still in Mr. Webber's charge. Included in the property of the estate were large interests in the S. T. & H. R. R., which, during Mr. Hoyt's life was built from Saginaw to Sebawaing. From its inception the superintendence of construction, purchase of materials, letting of contracts and other details were left to Mr. Webber, as Mr. Hoyt was most of the time at his home in New York. In 1884 Mr. Webber extended the line to Bay Port, then to the Bay Port quarries, and in 1886 to Bad Axe. Mr. Webber was president and general manager of the road from the death of Mr. Hoyt in 1882, to February, 1900, when he resigned on the purchase of the road by the Flint & Pere Marquette Railroad company. Mr. Webber was also for some time president of the Saginaw and Mt. Pleasant railroad, and has also held other positions of like character, filling them with fidelity and ability, as president of the East Saginaw Gas company, vice president and later president of the American Commercial and Savings bank, president of the Academy of Music association, and president of the Hoyt Public Library board. The latter two positions he still holds.

Mr. Webber not only witnessed the beginning of railroad construction in the Saginaw valley, but he took an active part in the development of the lines that radiate therefrom in various directions and contribute to its growth and prosperity. With the merging of several railroads into the Pere Marquette system, the number of independent companies operating to Saginaw have been reduced, but this does not affect the total of mileage nor the facilities offered patrons. There are now three trunk lines tributary to this city. Of these the Pere Marquette has six divisions, the Michigan Central three, the Grand Trunk one. These roads include three lines to Chicago, three to Detroit and two to Toledo. A choice of several lines may also be had in reaching scores of Michigan towns. Taken all in all, Saginaw outflanks any city in the state in accommodations it offers for shipping and traveling purposes. Its railroads reach out to the large cities, the small towns, the summer resorts and the lumber and mining regions of Michigan, and tap the very best agricultural districts of the commonwealth.

#### FIRST IN DEVELOPING COAL

Ever alive to the commercial interests of the state of Michigan, Mr. Webber spent much of his time and money in the experimental stages of various enterprises. He was the first to practically develop coal mining in the Saginaw valley, which is now one of its greatest industries, and the hope of the commercial development of the valley. The first discovery of coal was at Sebewaing, in Huron county, on the line of the Saginaw, Tuscola & Huron railroad, of which Mr. Webber was president. Mr. John Russell, a well borer, reported to Mr. Webber that he had drilled through a vein of coal about four feet thick, and submitted specimen of the coal in fine particles which was taken from this drill hole. Mr. Webber tested the specimen, and finding it good coal, directed several test holes to be made at his expense; these revealing that the coal was all right, Mr. Webber directed that a shaft be put down in order to take out enough coal to test its quality as compared with other coal, and the comparison proving satisfactory, a coal company was formed, of which Mr. Webber became the principal stockholder, and was elected its president. The mine was finally closed down on account of "flooding." Mining was actually commenced in the latter part of 1890, and closed down in 1894. The amount of coal raised and shipped during the time of its operation was about 66,000 tons. The amount of coal sold did not compensate him for the expenditure, but the discovery then made and pushed forward proved an incentive for others to follow,

until the Saginaw valley has become dotted with mining shafts, from which is being hoisted daily thousands of tons of coal.

#### POLITICAL AFFILIATION.

Politically, Mr. Webber has always been connected with the democratic party, and has always stood high in the councils of his party. From 1854 to 1856 he was circuit court commissioner of Saginaw county; later he was prosecuting attorney, and in 1874 was elected mayor of East Saginaw. While he was mayor, the board of police commissioners was created, and his office made him a member of it. The lumbering industry had drawn to Saginaw a rough element, and crime was rampant. The conditions called for intelligent action; an efficient police force was organized and the lawless element subdued, while a warfare was waged against the haunts of sin, by which most of them were closed and hundreds of disreputable characters forced to leave the city. The records of that year show that from this city twelve convicts were sent to the state prison, over 120 to the house of correction, and many lesser offenders to the county jail.

Mr. Webber was elected state senator in 1874, and in all matters of legislation displayed the same ability and integrity that had characterized his legal and business careers. At the time he was state senator, during the session of 1875, the term of Zachariah Chandler, then United States senator, was about to expire. He desired a re-election, and this seemed probable, as his party had a good majority of the legislature. Mr. Chandler had for years been the leading man of his party in the state, and had controlled its affairs with so little regard to others that he had alienated a number of leading republicans, who now declared that he would not receive their support. Party pressure, it was believed, would bring these back to his support, and, in their minority, there was no hope for the democrats who, together with the party throughout the country, were bitter against Chandler, Senator Carpenter of Wisconsin, and Senator Ramsey of Minnesota, for their prominence in forcing republican "bayonet" rule in Louisiana. By defeating Senator Chandler's re-election they hoped to create an influence that would also defeat Senators Carpenter and Ramsey, and retire their three political opponets to private life with a stinging rebuke. To elect a senator 67 votes were needed; the democrats had 60. There was one independent and six uncompromising anti-Chandler republicans, who could not be induced to give him support. If these diverse elements could be united the defeat of Chandler was assured. The six anti-Chandler republicans held secret meetings, and the democrats did likewise.

wise. At a conference it was agreed that if a man satisfactory to the latter and to the independent should be selected, they would unite in a vote and secure his election. Available candidates were discussed, and the republican coterie proposed the acceptance of supreme court Judge Isaac P. Christiancy as a suitable candidate. Before the war broke out he had been a democrat, but the question of slavery had caused him to leave that party and affiliate with the republicans. Mr. Webber was sent by the democrats to interview Judge Christiancy and ascertain how he stood on important matters, and to him Mr. Christiancy stated frankly that he left the democracy because of the slavery question, that in other respects his political opinions were unchanged. He stated his views in writing, and intrusted them to Mr. Webber for the consideration of the democrats. They were satisfactory, and as the independent member also agreed to support Judge Christiancy, his election and the downfall of the Chandler regime were practically assured to the small circle thus acting in concert. A few days later the election of a senator was taken up, and the carefully planned program carried out to the consternation of the Chandler faction. Mr. Chandler never regained his lost prestige, and at the elections in Wisconsin and Minnesota Carpenter and Ramsey were also relegated to the background.

As a legislator Mr. Webber always acted in accordance with his convictions of duty. For twenty years the prohibitory liquor law had been a dead letter on the statute books of Michigan. When in the senate he was active for its repeal and the passage of the high-tax law. At the democratic national convention in 1876, Mr. Webber was chairman of the Michigan delegation. He introduced the resolution recommending the various state conventions to abolish the two-thirds rule, and it was adopted. In that year, also, he received the unanimous nomination as the democratic candidate for governor of Michigan. A vigorous canvass might have overcome the large republican majority of the state, but his nature revolted from the undignified and questionable methods so often used to court popular favor, and he made no effort to gain votes for himself. Although failing of an election, nearly 3,000 more votes were cast for him than were given in the state for Samuel J. Tilden for president, thus showing the general appreciation of his worth.

In other lines Mr. Webber's life has been one of usefulness by the good example he has set for others. He has been prominent in the development of the agricultural interests of the state, and taken a deep interest in practical farm work, especially as related to the soils of

Michigan. His pen has not been idle, and many pamphlets and papers on topics of interest to the people have emanated from his fertile brain.

His writings on agricultural subjects have been favorably received by the press, and widely read by progressive farmers. When preparations were being made in 1886 to celebrate the semi-centennial of Michigan, he was invited to prepare the paper on "Agriculture," which was one of the best read on that occasion. For a number of years he was connected with the executive board of the State Pomological society, and in 1878 was elected president of the State Agricultural society. In August, 1892, he was appointed by Governor Winans, under a joint resolution of the legislature, chairman of a board of highway commissioners to formulate a plan of legislation looking to the improvement of the highways of this state, and to report as to the practicability of using convict labor in connection with such improvement. Elaborate recommendations were submitted, amended to some extent by the legislature, an amendment to the constitution to meet the exigencies of the case submitted to the people, which was adopted, resulting in the present county road system. In 1895 he was appointed by Governor Rich as a delegate to the good roads parliament to be held at Atlanta, Ga., in October of that year, which he attended, and in his report to the governor recommended the calling of a mass meeting of public-spirited citizens throughout the state in the interests of good roads, which was done, resulting in the organization of the Michigan League for Good Roads, of which Mr. Webber was elected president. Much good work was done by this league, and from it have sprung several county leagues and township leagues, having for their aim the betterment of the highways of the state.

#### A MASON AND ODD FELLOW.

Mr. Webber is prominently identified with the Masonic order in all its branches; he was made a Mason in Saginaw lodge No. 77, in 1855, being the third member to undergo the rites of initiation. He survives the two brothers who preceded him (Mr. Norman Little and Mr. W. L. P. Little), and is thus the oldest member of the lodge in point of priority. He was elected master of this lodge in 1857, which position he held for three years. He was made a Royal Arch Mason in Washington chapter, at Flint, and, with others, organized Saginaw Valley chapter No. 31. He was the first high priest of the new chapter, which position he held for three years, and was raised in 1865 to the position of grand high priest of the grand high chapter of Michigan. Still higher Masonic honors were accorded him when, in 1874, he was elected grand master of the grand lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Michigan. He was

made a Knight Templar in St. Bernard commandery No. 16 of Saginaw, and afterward served as eminent commander; he is also a member of Saginaw council No. 20, Royal and Select Masons, is a member of Saladin temple, N. M. S., and has also received the thirty-second degree A. & A. S. rite.

He became a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1847.

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Viewing Mr. Webber in whatever light we may, the result is a satisfactory one. As a business man he has shown a broad mind, quick of discernment, and careful of the details of his undertakings, thereby insuring their success. To Saginaw, especially, will his name ever be a bright and honored one, as his enterprises awakened an interest in the coal deposits of this locality and laid at her feet a fertile tributary country, large in its promises for the future. As a citizen he has been honored and his individuality has stamped itself on his home in an enduring manner. His efforts have ever been for the suppression of vice and crime and the cultivation of those municipal characteristics that make a city and its people honored. As an exponent of the law he showed a grasp upon those fundamental principles that underlie it, viewing cases clearly and upon their merits, and readily arriving at a correct solution of new points, only to be sustained by the courts of last resort. In manner he is affable and approachable, to friend or stranger, rich or poor, and possesses a kindly disposition that gives him an interest in the affairs and well-being of others.

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#### FIRST "YANKEE" FAMILY AT GRAND RAPIDS.

BY ALBERT BAXTER.

The permanent settlement of Grand Rapids began sixty-seven years ago, June 23, 1833. The story of the Dexter colony, which came from Herkimer county, New York, into the Grand river woods, has often been told. Those colonists numbered sixty-three persons, nearly all of whom stopped at Ionia and were the founders and organizers of that town. Only one family—that of Joel Guild—himself and wife, one son and six daughters kept on down the river, "Uncle" Louis Campau providing bateaux, from which they landed on the east bank of the rapids at Mr. Campau's Indian trading post, where now is the foot of Huron

street, Sunday the 23d of June. Inasmuch as none of them are now living, it is the purpose of this paper to speak chiefly of that family, as the real founders of the town (after Mr. Campan, the trader). The latter had come to the rapids in 1826, and at about the same time came Leonard Slater, the missionary, establishing his mission on the west bank of the river, a little south of Bridge street.

Mr. Guild's children were then all unmarried—the eldest being Harriet, who was twenty years old that day, and was married in the following spring to Barney Burton, and who survived all the rest, reaching the age of eighty-three years. Her husband died April 17, 1861. Consider Guild married Phœbe Leavitt, who died in 1853; he died in Ottawa county, July 22, 1883. The other daughters, in the order of their ages, may be chronicled in their marriages and deaths as follows: Emily O., married Leonard G. Baxter, she died August 9, 1861, he died February 3, 1866. Mary L. became the wife of Robert Barr, who is yet living, eighty-seven years of age. Olive, married Frederick A. Marsh, who died March 19, 1856, and survived him until November 7, 1867. Elvira E., was the wife of Albert Baxter, she died June 5, 1855, he is yet living. Lucy E., married Daniel S. T. Weller, and died January 13, 1867. Mr. Weller died November 26, 1882. Elvira was married February 22, 1849, Lucy was married April 30, 1848.

Joel Guild built the first frame dwelling at Grand Rapids. He purchased of Louis Campan the first two lots sold on the latter's village plat, which was not at the time recorded—being the ground now occupied by the National City bank and the Wonderly block and between the two, at the junction of Monroe and Pearl streets; and his house was built on that bank site—begun in June, and the family moved into it the last day of August, 1833. It stood at the west base of what was called Prospect hill, and among the oak trees of the forest there. He, at about the same time, went to the land office and entered the forty known as "Kendall's addition," and some two years later sold the entire property to Junius Hatch, of Buffalo, N. Y.

I may add to this very brief sketch a mention of two or three others of the early settlers. Luther Lincoln came into the Grand River valley in the fall of 1832 with a little son and daughter, leaving the children at the Slater mission, while he went down to Grandville and improved some land. As soon as the Guild family came he transferred the children there. Young Luther Lincoln afterward married, and was killed in his doorway by a stroke of lightning, at or near Greenville, Montcalm county. The daughter, Keziah Lincoln, was adopted and reared by



"Annt Hattie" Burton, and is now living in the city, the oldest continuous resident there. She is Mrs. Benjamin Livingston. Wm. R. Barnard, now at the Masonic home, came to the Rapids in 1834, and is about eighty-six years of age. There are now, I think, not more than half a dozen residents of Grand Rapids left who were there when Michigan was admitted to the union.

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## THE WEATHER BUREAU.

BY C. FREDERICK SCHNEIDER.

Some months ago I was requested by my esteemed friend and coworker, Hon. L. D. Watkins, to read a paper on the "weather bureau" before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Considering the objects of the organization which occasions this meeting, I deem it a proper and fitting time to present as briefly as possible a synoptical sketch of the progress of meteorology, particularly in the United States, and thus show the development of the present well organized government department.

From the beginning of time the changing seasons and the irregular recurrence of weather conditions has interested and engaged the attention of man. The book of Job and some of the books of the New Testament contain formulated weather wisdom, which we speak of as weather proverbs, and the ancient philosophers gave much of their thought to the study of weather phenomena.

In early savage times there is no doubt that keen observations and weather guessing was practiced by the wise men of the Nomadic peoples. In New Guinea they had a dwelling in a tree from which they scanned the horizon to determine the chances of their next meal of fish and game.

It is a long step from the outlook tree of the savage to the more scientific efforts of the Egyptians and Greeks who made systematic observations in special buildings. The great pyramid has been claimed as such a building, and it is supposed by some writers that from an opening in its side the learned priests observed the stars and the moon to determine the proper times and seasons for the irrigation of the fertile Nile valley. They had nilometers at various places along the river by which they took accurate note of its height; the oldest of these nilometers is located on the island of Rhodes opposite Cairo, and remains in full operation to this day, having existed for more than eleven centuries.

The nilometer is usually well connected with the bed of the river; in the center of the well rises a marble column whose base is level with the bottom of the river and upon which are graduations showing the height of the river. On the nilometer at Elephantine, erected 847 A. D., the actual heights were marked from time to time during the rule of the Cæsars. The older nilometers are mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo and others, while the immortal Shakespeare thus speaks of them in the play of Anthony and Cleopatra:

"They take the flow of the Nile by certain scales in the Pyramid: they know by the height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth or folson follow. The higher Nilus swells, the more it promises. As it ebbs, the seedsman upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain And shortly comes the harvest."

—Act II, Scene VII.

He was probably mistaken in placing a nilometer in a pyramid, but it is wonderful that he should have known of it at all.

The Greeks, who inherited the wisdom of the Egyptians, have in the very heart of Athens a building which may be claimed as the original observatory, and which yet remains standing in the modern city. I refer to the temple of the winds, a little octagonal marble tower almost under the shadow of the Acropolis. This temple is so built that its eight sides face the eight principal winds, and on each side is sculptured a human figure in high relief that represents, as far as a figure can, the character and quality of the particular wind which it faces. The north wind, which is cold, fierce and stormy, is represented by the figure of a man warmly clad and fiercely blowing on a trumpet made out of a sea shell. The northeast, which wind brought and still brings to the Athenians cold, snow and hail, was represented by an old man with severe countenance who is rattling sling stones on a shield, to set forth the noise and power of a hailstorm. The east wind, which brought and still brings to the Greeks, a gentle rain favorable to vegetation, is expressed by the image of a young man with flowing hair and open countenance, having his looped-up mantle filled with fruit, honeycombs and corn. Zephyros, the west wind, was indicated by the figure of a slightly clad and beautiful youth with his hat full of flowers. And so on with the other winds; each has its qualities and character fixed in stone by an appropriate sculptured figure, and today meteorologists have in the temple of the winds most interesting evidence that the climate of Greece has not materially changed, at any rate in respect to winds, during the last 2,000 years.

The tower had a vane on top made to represent a Triton who turned with the wind and pointed a rod over the figure who portrayed it.

The initial point of meteorology as a physical science, however, is

determined by the invention of the barometer and thermometer. Before these discoveries there existed only desultory observations, generally unrecorded except in the folklore of weather proverbs and the shepherd's calendar, and these irrational predictions, to a certain extent, remain popular today in the patent medicine almanac.

The mercurial barometer, an instrument for measuring the weight or pressure of the atmosphere, was invented by Evangelesta Torrecelli, an Italian mathematician and physicist in 1643.

The thermometer was invented by Galileo at some date prior to 1611, and was developed by his pupils through the first 30 years of the 17th century. In 1641 the Florentine philosophers were using a thermometer consisting of a bulb filled with alcohol with sealed stem and graduations on the stem according to an arbitrary scale. Sagredo adopted a scale of 360 divisions like the graduation of a circle, and it was he who fixed the application of the word degree to thermometer graduations. No means of comparing observations made with different thermometers containing different fluids, or of different manufacture, were possible until Fahrenheit adopted a graduation between two fixed temperatures. For the zero he adopted the lowest temperature observed by him during the winter of 1709 and for his upper fixed point he took the temperature of the body and marked it 96 degrees. By this system the temperature of melting ice became 32 degrees and the boiling point of water at sea level 212 degrees. This is the scale of the Fahr. thermometer now in use by English speaking people. In 1720 occurred the first general distribution of comparable thermometers.

At this time the royal society of England had already provided for a permanent record of scientific labor and research, and its transactions from the beginning contain many notices of weather study by the aid of the barometer. Within three years after the first general distribution of comparable thermometers, it issued to the world Dr. James Jurin's scheme of an association for forming meteorological diaries, and thus Jurin has claim to be regarded as the father of statistical meteorology. Even earlier than this is found the first attempt at meteorological record in the pre-instrumental period: Walter Merle, fellow of Merton college, Oxford, England, kept a daily record of the weather for seven years, 1337-44. This record was originally kept on skins of vellum and written in contracted Latin.

The scheme of the royal society possesses a direct and intimate relation to meteorological study in the United States, because one of Dr. Jurin's circulars found its way to Charleston, S. C., where a Dr. Lining

in 1738 began to maintain a record of temperature and precipitation which he reported to the royal society.

American interest was not confined to following out the plans of English investigators, for in 1738 Isaac Greenwood, professor of mathematics at Harvard college, presented a form of meteorological observations at sea, and thus in a way anticipated by more than a century the efforts of Lieutenant Maury, assigning as a reason for his suggested plan, that marine observations "already are by far more numerous than what were ever made ashore, or indeed what can be expected for some ages to come."

The Charleston observations were followed by several other series of greater or less extent and completeness in different parts of the country, and which slowly increasing in number prepared the way for the systematic collection of climatic data. The observations were the outgrowth of private interest, which often flagged in the absence of any directing influence. The time was ripe for some enthusiast, who by representing a central and directing agency should keep alive the interest in meteorological record and secure the preservation of the results.

The enthusiast came forward in the person of Josiah Meigs, commissioner of the general land office. Meigs was a good man for the purpose. Trained in the rigid discipline of Yale college of the period, he served that institution as tutor in natural philosophy and later occupied the chair in the same department. His interest in meteorology was displayed during his residence in Bermuda from 1789-94, during which period he made observations on the meteorology of the islands and communicated them to the royal society. On account of a life of hardship and poverty he was unable to give meteorology the administrative attention he much desired, until his appointment to the commissionership of the general land office placed him for the first time in his life in easy circumstances.

On January 31, 1817, he wrote an influential member of congress suggesting the passing of a resolution to provide for the keeping of meteorological registers at each of the land offices, and that observations should be sent in each month to the general land office. His plan contemplated the issue to each land office of instruments for observation of temperature, pressure, rain and wind. He failed to secure the sanction of congress but issued a circular April 29, 1817, in which he asked several registers to take regularly certain meteorological observations for which he supplied blank forms. Purely voluntary as the service was,

and without any financial support, it fell somewhat short of the plan suggested to congress, for barometers were both rare and expensive. The system, however, attained considerable proportions, but it seems to have lapsed on the death of the founder in 1822. The records have never been collected, but it is interesting to note that Meigs, from comparison of the voluntary reports sent him, was able to recognize the area of several cold waves, even though the insufficiency of his information precluded the discovery of their motion in progression.

The next system of observations was established by the surgeon general of the army, and has been maintained as a system to the present day, although subject to the various modifications made necessary by changing or altered conditions of meteorological study. The office of surgeon general was created in 1818, and Dr. Lovell was its first head. His first instructions directed hospital and post surgeons to keep a diary of the weather; the first reports under this system were filed in January, 1819. For the first few years the only instruments furnished were a thermometer and wind vane. In 1836 the rain gauge was added to the equipment, and in 1841 barometers and hygrometers were supplied to a few stations. In 1843 a new and more complete system was put in operation, and military posts and hospitals were called on to maintain the record of the barometer, thermometer, rain gauge, wet bulb thermometers and cloudiness of the sky.

The results of 1820 and 1821 were published at the end of each year, but thereafter the results were grouped in convenient periods and published in the Army Meteorological Register until 1854, when the records were handed over to the Smithsonian institute.

Within a few years the subject, which had been too important for congress to consider in 1817, had attained a recognized position as entitled to public support. In 1825 the university regents of New York directed that each of the academies under their jurisdiction should be furnished with a thermometer and rain gauge and that the diligent report of observations should be an essential condition of their receipt of state funds.

The observations began in 1826 and were continued until 1850. During this period sixty-two academies reported observations, of which three are complete for the whole term. In 1849 the legislature made an appropriation for the purchase of improved instruments in order to conform the state system with the more comprehensive system then recently instituted by the Smithsonian institution; a small sum was appropriated for pay of observers. The system went into effect in

1850 and thirty-five academies began observations. In 1863 the legislature failed to make the small salary appropriation, and from that time the system rapidly declined, both from that cause and from the greater weight of the Smithsonian observations, which covered much of the same ground. The observations were published in the reports of the regents.

Pennsylvania was the next to feel the influence of the new study. In 1834 the American philosophical society and the Franklin institute formed a joint meteorological committee, of which James P. Espy was chairman, and A. D. Bache was a leading member. At this period less attention was paid to securing continuous records than to gathering information concerning individual storms that had attracted the attention of the committee. In 1837 the legislature appropriated \$4,000 for the advancement of meteorology, and intrusted its expenditure to the joint committee. Out of these funds were authorized to be purchased for each county, in the state, a barometer, two common thermometers, a self registering thermometer and a rain gauge. Thirty-five stations were operated under this grant during the ten years following 1839, but most of the records were brief and irregular. The observations were published by the two societies which joined in the committee of administration.

In 1841 the bureau of topographical engineers began the survey of the northern and northwestern lakes, but meteorological observations in connection therewith received little consideration at first. In 1857 Capt. Geo. G. Meade in his report recommended the observation of meteorological phenomena over the whole lake region. This recommendation was approved and instruments were ordered in sufficient quantity to equip each station with a barometer, thermometer, psychrometer, rain and wind gauge. Three stations were established on Lake Ontario, four on Lake Erie, five on Lake Huron, three on Lake Michigan and four on Lake Superior. The observations began July 1, 1859, and were published and in some instances discussed in the annual reports of the survey. They ended in 1872 when the signal service took up the work.

The patent office was the next department to manifest interest in the recording of climatic data. The seeming inconsistency of this with the legitimate objects of the office disappears when it is remembered that at that time agriculture formed a division of the patent office. In the early reports of this office occur brief memoranda of notable weather conditions which exerted a greater or less influence upon the

crops then under investigation. Year by year these memoranda became fuller, and in 1847 they took the form of tabulated data for one or more years from different stations.

The Smithsonian institution in 1849 began its great work in the field of American meteorology along several parallel lines of research. As a bureau of record the institution, under the direction of Joseph Henry, gathered up from all sources past records of observations, assisted the few systems then in existence and instituted its own system throughout the country. Thus it came about that in 1870 this great institution controlled all the meteorological records of the country.

Next in order of time came the signal service, and a brief review of the principal events leading up to its organization as a meteorological bureau for the collection and compilation of meteorological statistics, and particularly for the prediction of weather conditions, is of interest.

It was the telegraph that transformed meteorology and made it possible to make daily tests of the theories of early physical investigators, among whom Benj. Franklin was the leader, for he is on record in 1747 as having deduced, from such observations as were available, that the northeast storms were generated in the southeast, but it was not until nearly 100 years later that the really formative period of American meteorology began, and when such men as Redfield, Espy, Ferrel and Loomis finally evolved the weather map.

The first to recognize the great field of practical work in meteorology was Lieut. Maury of the national observatory. In 1851 he originated the plan of what he named farmers' meteorology by enlisting the farmers throughout the country to report weather observations. Two years later he assembled a meteorological congress of maritime nations at Brussels and recommended a plan for a series of international observations by land and sea. In 1855 he addressed many agricultural societies of the south and west on this topic, and urged them to memorialize congress to establish a central office where weather reports might be digested and telegraphed to all parts of the country warning farmers of the approach of storms and frost. The first bill framed for the action of congress failed to pass, and before further action could be taken the nation passed into the turmoil of civil war.

The Smithsonian institution early recognized the possibility of the telegraph, and in 1856 it made a practical application of simultaneous weather reports received by wire and began maintaining a daily weather map at the institution. The first attempt at a published prediction was in 1858, when Prof. Henry stated to the American academy that when

the map showed rain at Cincinnati in the morning it was considered an indication of rain at Washington in the evening sufficiently trustworthy to warrant the postponing of the lectures at the institution. But the war interfered with the development of the plans of Prof. Henry, and when he was about to resume in 1865 the great fire at the institution crippled the resources at his command.

The idea, thus by unfortunate circumstances forced into neglect, was revived by Prof. Cleveland Abbe, once an instructor in the Michigan Agricultural college, and at that time director of the Cincinnati observatory. In 1868 he succeeded in interesting the chamber of commerce of that city in the project of daily predictions of weather, and under its auspices began to issue the "Weather bulletin of the Cincinnati observatory," which lasted from September, 1869, to January, 1871, when he was summoned to Washington to assist in organizing the forecast service, then just assigned to the signal corps.

The initial impulse which led the federal government to assume this work of public utility was given by Dr. Increase A. Lapham of Milwaukee. Having had his attention particularly directed to the destructive gales of Lake Michigan, he had studied the early movements of the storm centers with the result that he convinced himself of the feasibility of predicting their oncoming to the great benefit of lake navigation. In 1869 he was able to convince the national board of trade of the value of his suggestion, and in December of the same year he addressed a memorial to Gen. Halbert E. Paine, member of congress from Milwaukee, setting forth the possibilities of the plan and pointing out its commercial importance by a list of 1,914 lake disasters caused by unannounced storms. Gen. Paine introduced a resolution embodying these suggestions, and secured the favorable endorsement of the three great authorities on meteorology, the surgeon general of the army, the secretary of the Smithsonian institution and Prof. Elias Loomis, and in addition the assurance of Gen. Myer, chief signal officer, that it was quite possible to report and forecast storms by telegraph and signal. The resolution was passed and approved February 9, 1870, and thus was created the meteorological bureau of the signal service, which on July 1, 1892, was transferred to the agricultural department and rechristened the United States weather bureau.

The new service went into operation November 1, 1870, with stations fully established, and has been maintained without interruption ever since.

It is thus seen that the purpose of the weather bureau, as originally defined, was the warning of storms on the northern lakes and eastern



seaboard. By a natural extension it became a bureau of record as well, for the reports of its special observers were filed at the central office. In 1872 and again in 1873 its scope was considerably increased by acts of congress, and in the latter year was instituted the publication of the *Monthly Weather Review*, which was the first attempt in this country to present meteorological data to the attention of students with the least interval after the occurrence of the phenomena discussed.

In 1874 the bureau had given such satisfactory proof of its success and such promise of its permanence that the Smithsonian institution transferred to it all the material collected in a long series of years under their system.

At present the value of this service has been recognized as never before, and its system has been carried to an extent and brought to a perfection which are the admiration and model of the other meteorological bureaus of the world.

To turn for a few moments to the practical side of this subject is to consider a vast field of which the general public has but a vague idea. To the average layman the daily forecast means only a pair of overshoes, an umbrella, or the possible postponement of a pleasant jaunt. But to the great maritime, mercantile and agricultural interests a short forecast of half a dozen words often determines, temporarily, the management and disposition of values aggregating many millions. A census recently taken of the passing of a hurricane along the Atlantic seaboard, which had been fully predicted, showed that between 800 and 900 vessels remained in port as the result of weather bureau warnings; and at Norfolk, Va., the board of trade estimated that the warnings saved \$850,000 worth of cotton and other merchandise from damage by high tides. During the spring, fall and winter months perishable property valued almost beyond mention is transported from place to place almost entirely upon the advice of weather forecast.

The statistical feature of meteorology in itself covers a vast field of great importance. Hardly a day passes that my office does not determine some question of fact regarding past weather conditions. For courts of law in a variety of cases, ranging from violation of ordinances regarding riding of bicycles on sidewalks to murder cases. Railroads use it for settling claims for damages to freight. A long series of temperature and of rainfall statistics were very largely essential and instrumental in bringing the great beet sugar industry to Michigan. Engineers have frequent recourse to them for aid in constructing water-works, power dams and sewers. To the medical fraternity the minute

detail gathered by the state weather service is of universal benefit, for by the study of correct and accurate meteorologic or climatic data the physician can greatly amplify the mere use of medicines.

But my paper has already reached much larger proportions than I at first intended, and in closing I wish to say a few words regarding the accuracy of the forecasts which are issued from day to day, and also the criticism the public gives them. During the past ten years the verification percentage has been about eighty-eight, nearly nine out of every ten, but for a science as new and young as meteorology this is quite satisfactory. Astronomy, a science nearly 2,000 years old, is still imperfect. In criticising these forecasts the public often forgets that the percentage of verification is probably as high as the majority of human ventures where the future is involved. Can a physician or any attorney of thirty years' practice show a much higher percentage of success in all cases they have taken?

The public, however, are appreciative despite the jocular criticism in which it sometimes indulges, as is evinced by the cordial and substantial support accorded the bureau in congress and the various state legislatures. The people understand that the daily predictions are not guesses, but based on scientific data and scientific reasons of recognized standing. If we could hope to make the same wonderful and proportionate rate of advancement in the next 100 years that we have made in the last fifty, then the twentieth century would see weather bureaus that could forecast accurately, not only for the following day, but for several days in advance. Such a possibility is not entirely a dream when we look about and behold the electric light, the railroad engine, the telephone and telegraph, and consider that many men in this audience can remember in their boyhood only the light of the tallow dip, the transportation of the ox team and the distant communication of slow horse posts.

June 6, 1900.

## THE GREAT LAKES.

INTERESTING DATA CONCERNING THEM; MICHIGAN'S RELATION TO THEM;  
GROWTH OF TRAFFIC ON THEM.

WRITTEN AND COMPILED BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

The two peninsulas of Michigan are bounded largely by the Great Lakes in the central portion of North America. The southern line of the lower peninsula separates that section from the states of Ohio and Indiana, while the upper peninsula is partly bounded on the south by Wisconsin. All the rest of the state has the natural boundary lines of one or more of the great lakes and their connecting rivers. No other commonwealth of the Republic has such an extensive water front—composed of Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, together with the strait of Mackinaw, the St. Mary's river, the St. Clair river and the Detroit river, leaving only the Niagara river and Lake Ontario, of the most magnificent interior and navigable fresh water system on the globe, untouched by the state.

## PROMINENT CHARACTERISTICS.

Of this great system, Lake Michigan is the only one which is wholly included within the national jurisdiction of the United States. It determined the location of Chicago and helped to make that city in half a century the second city of the western hemisphere. So, too, it made Milwaukee possible, as other portions of the splendid commercial waterway gave birth and natural advantages to the prosperous cities of Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland and Buffalo. The dimensions of Lake Michigan as given by Dr. Douglass Houghton are: length, 320 miles; mean breadth, 70 miles; mean depth, 100 feet; elevation above sea level, 578 feet; area, 22,400 square miles. Probably, at some remote period, the waters of the lake found an outlet by the channels of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers to the Gulf of Mexico.

Lake Superior, the northernmost of the border lakes of the United States and the Dominion of Canada, is the largest body of fresh water on the globe. Nature scooped out an immense basin for it. Its greatest length from east to west is 360 miles; its greatest breadth, across the central portion, is 140 miles; its mean depth about 1,000 feet; the level of its surface above the sea is 630 feet; its coast line about 1,500 miles; and its area, 32,000 square miles. Nowhere, border-

ing the inland waters of North America, is the scenery so bold and grand as along the north shore of Lake Superior. On the south shore are the famous natural walls of red sandstone known as the "Pictured Rocks." They are opposite the greatest width of the lake, exposed to the action of the furious storms from the north, and the effect of the wearing waves upon them is manifest in their irregular shapes, and the sand derived from their disintegration is swept down the coast and raised in long lines of sandy cliffs. At Grand Sable these cliffs vary from one hundred to three hundred feet in height, and the surrounding region consists of hills of drifting sand. A person who has not seen a summer sunset, on a calm and clear evening, from the deck of a steamer on Lake Superior has missed one of nature's grandest spectacles.

Lake Huron receives a double supply of water, the discharge from Lake Superior through St. Mary's river for 63 miles and from Lake Michigan through the strait of Mackinaw. It has many picturesque islands. Its length from north to south is about 250 miles; its greatest width, including Georgian bay, 190 miles; its average depth is given as not less than 800 feet; its elevation above sea level 573 feet, and its area is computed to be about 21,000 square miles. It is stated that in the deepest part soundings have been made to the depth of 1,800 feet without finding bottom.

Lake St. Clair is a small and shallow basin, which receives the waters of Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan through St. Clair river, which is some forty miles long, the lake having a length of thirty miles, and a mean breadth of twelve miles, but at its widest part measuring twenty miles; its average depth is only twenty feet; its elevation above the sea, 573 feet, and its area 360 square miles, making it half the size of Jackson county. With the wearing away of Niagara Falls, an expected event sometime in the far future, the lowering of the water would leave it a lake in name only, but the pushing water of the upper lakes might furrow out a deeper channel for navigation.

Lake Erie is the southernmost body of water of this immense inland system, and the lowest with the exception of Lake Ontario, which lies still farther down the grade to the northeast. Both of these lakes, as if getting into position to send their flood to the ocean, are located nearly in an extension of the line of the river St. Lawrence, which is the outlet for all of them to the Atlantic ocean. The length of Lake Erie is about 240 miles; mean breadth, 40 miles; area, 9,600 square miles, and elevation above the sea 565 feet. Its surface is 333 feet above that of Lake Ontario, this rapid descent being made in the 33 miles length of

Niagara river. A peculiar feature of Lake Erie is its varying depth. United States' engineers found three divisions in its floor of increasing depth toward its outlet. The upper portion, above Point Pelee island, has a level bottom at an average depth of only thirty feet. The middle portion, which includes the principal part of the lake, extending to Long Point, has quite a level floor 60 to 70 feet below the surface. Below Long Point the depth varies from 60 to 240 feet. Detroit river is about 22 miles long, and varies in width from three miles to less than half a mile. The upper portion of the Michigan shore is beautiful, the river itself a thing of beauty, and the city of Detroit, sometimes called "the city of the straits," though the word means "the narrows," as it is located at the narrowest part of the river, has the best harbor, in the open roadstead of a smooth flowing stream, of any city on this great internal waterway of a continent.

Lake Ontario is the lowest and smallest of the five great lakes of the northern United States and southern Canada. The name is Indian, meaning beautiful. The lake extends east and west about 180 miles, with a mean breadth of 35 miles, and a depth averaging in the vicinity of 500 feet. Its surface is 231 feet above sea level, its bottom being about as far below the level of the ocean as its surface is above it, and its area is 6,300 square miles. From its extreme northeast corner its waters are taken by the river St. Lawrence nearly 800 miles to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thence into the north Atlantic ocean.

Excluding the rivers, this chain of lakes covers an area of 91,660 square miles, and of this area of water the state of Michigan borders on 85,360 square miles, making it the greatest lake state in the world.

#### A DREAM OF EXPANSION.

It may be a futile dream of expansion, but none the less is it a pleasant one and worthy of Anglo-Saxon thought, that in the not far away future the entire North American continent will be embraced in one government and be under one flag; and that the westernmost of these great lakes, reaching into the heart of the continent will be its commercial as well as its geographical center, furnishing a navigable outlet for the cheap transportation of the products of our farms, factories and mines, without breaking bulk, to the markets of Europe, Asia and Africa. With the waning power of Great Britain from the exhaustion of its coal and iron and the loss of military prestige at the close of the nineteenth century, it is not difficult to foresee that the welfare of Canada will be vastly increased by uniting its fortunes with the American Republic.

Because of the facilities afforded for the development of Michigan and of the entire northwest by this unequaled continental system of navigable lakes and rivers, it seems appropriate to the committee of historians of the State Pioneer and Historical Society to present and preserve in this last volume of its collections prepared for publication during the final year of the nineteenth century, a sketch of the development of traffic on these lakes—the growth of less than a hundred years—which has already reached enormous proportions, the magnitude of which, at the dawn of a new century, is almost bewildering. The data given as to the area of the lake and river system form an appropriate introduction.

#### HOROSCOPIC.

It is useless to attempt to forecast the future when it is difficult to comprehend the present. Still, it is not improbable, the year 2001 will show changes of greater importance than those narrated in this sketch; which have taken place during the last hundred years, and among them the establishment of ocean lines of steamers from the eastern continents to the commercial cities of these inland lakes, making every one of their harbors a seaport for receiving and loading cargoes from and to foreign countries, with sufficient depths of water at all points to render this practicable. It is also deemed probable that marvelous engineering problems will be solved, and the result will be nearly uniform lake levels from Chicago to Buffalo, by means of great dykes or other works, thus holding the immense waters of these lakes at a fixed surface the season through. Millions of dollars will be needed for the work, but electricity will relieve human muscle of much of the toil. In the expressed opinion of an eminent French engineer, vessels of the year 2001 will reach the enormous length of 1,000 feet and over. Such changes, and others of equal magnitude, seem to be foreshadowed, and may herald the advent of the twenty-first century.

#### LOOKING BACKWARD.

As for the past, in 1801 the great lakes were navigated by French bateaux, which were not unlike whale boats, open, exposed to rain and snow, and slowly forced along by modern galley slaves, who often grew weary as they tugged at the oars. Salt, furs and military supplies for the distant western settlements were the main articles of lake commerce. The first steamboat, the Ontario, was built at Sackett's Harbor, but the Walk-in-the-Water, 1818, reached Detroit for the first time in September of that year, greatly to the consternation of the Indians, who thought her some hideous monster, breathing steam, smoke and fire.

The first white navigators who saw the great lakes were the French, under Jacques Cartier, 1534, who sailed up the St. Lawrence. In 1641 two missionaries, Jogues and Rambault, reached St. Mary's falls, and in 1658 fur traders pushed to the west end of Lake Superior. In 1665, Allouez came to St. Mary's falls.

None of these explorers, however, placed regular sailing vessels on the great lakes. November 16, 1678, La Salle and Fr. Hennepin embarked on a schooner of ten tons which they built on the site of the present Canadian city of Kingston, proceeding to Lewiston, near the mouth of the Niagara river, where farther navigation was stopped by the rapids. A new ship was built, the Griffin, at Cayuga creek, and launched in May, 1679, to navigate the upper lakes. August 7 she sailed out in Lake Erie, and on September 2 left for Green bay, but was lost on her return voyage.

After the English took Fort Niagara, in 1759, they began building ships, notably a sloop and a schooner, on Navy island, above the falls, a small fleet prominent in the siege of Detroit by Pontiac, 1763. After the siege two of them returned to a little bay at the foot of Grand island, Niagara river, where Sir William Johnson says they were burned.

In 1755, the English built two small ships at Oswego, known as the Oswego and the Ontario. The first American vessel on the great lakes, after the revolution, was the *Jemima*, constructed at Hanford's Landing, three miles below Rochester. She was built by Eli Granger, 1798, and was sold to Augustus and Peter B. Porter. In 1810, commerce on Lake Ontario was in the hands of two forwarding firms, Porter, Barton & Co., and Townsend, Bronson & Co., and regular trade was in stores, furs and salt, which was sent to the straggling western settlements. The schooner *Charles and Ann*, 1810, 100 tons, was considered a wonder. By 1818, the fleet on Lake Ontario numbered some 60 vessels, and trade included timber and staves, rafted down the St. Lawrence.

#### FIRST AMERICAN VESSEL ON LAKE ERIE.

The first American-built vessel on Lake Erie was the schooner *Washington*, launched at Erie, Pa., 1797. She was soon sold to a Canadian, and carried on wheels around the falls. In 1816, the total tonnage at all ports, including Detroit, was 2,067. In 1817, seven small vessels were enrolled at Buffalo, with a tonnage of 459 tons, and of these one was a steamer. The first steamer was the *Ontario*, built at Sackett's Harbor, N. Y. She was 110 feet long, 24 feet wide and 8½ feet deep, measuring 240 tons, and was constructed under a grant from the heirs of Robert Fulton. On her first trip she encountered considerable sea, and the

waves lifted the paddle wheels, throwing the shaft off its bearings and causing the wheels to tear off their wooden coverings.

In 1818, the steamer *Sophia* was built at Sackett's Harbor. In the same year was launched at Black Rock the *Walk-in-the-Water*. She was floated May 28, and started on her first trip August 25. Her machinery was brought from Albany, a distance of 300 miles, in wagons drawn by eight horses. As she could not run against a swift current, recourse was had to what was facetiously called a "horned breeze," namely, yokes of oxen, which regularly towed her up the Niagara river. She made the round trip from Detroit to Black Rock in 10 days. She was wrecked and lost on the beach at Buffalo, November, 1821, but during the winter of 1822 a second steamer, named the *Superior*, used the machinery of the *Walk-in-the-Water*. The first high-pressure steamer was launched at Buffalo, the *Pioneer*. In 1841 the first propeller was launched at Oswego, known as the *Vandalia*, 138 tons, and proved successful in all weathers.

#### UPPER LAKE DEVELOPMENT.

The first vessels on Lake Superior were those owned by the British Fur Co. One was the *Recovery*, 150 tons. During the war of 1812, so fearful were the owners that she would fall into the hands of the Americans that the *Recovery* was taken to a small cove on Isle Royale, known as McCargo's cove, her masts removed and her hull covered with logs and branches, to conceal her exact location. On the advent of peace she was again brought from her hiding place, but was not refitted until 1830. Another fur-trading vessel, called the *Mink*, appeared on Lake Superior before 1812, but the first American boat launched on that lake was the *John Jacob Astor*, built under the direction of Ramsey Crooks and Oliver Newberry, and placed in command of Capt. Charles Stanard. Her timbers and planks were hewed at Black River, O., shipped to Sault Ste. Marie and carted across the portage to the head of the rapids, where her keel was laid, and she was launched August 1, 1835. It was while in command of the *Astor* that Capt. Stanard discovered the terrible menace to navigation, since known as Stanard rock, upon which the United States has spent large sums of money to insure the safety of mariners. The schooner *William Brewster*, 70 tons, was launched in August, 1838. These boats were all open and were propelled by paddles, oars and sails, as circumstances required. The schooner *Napoleon* was built for Oliver Newberry, 1845, at Sault Ste. Marie. Other boats of this early day were: *Independence*, 260 tons; *Julia Palmer*, 1846, hauled across the portage; *Algonquin*, *Uncle Tom*, *Swallow*, *Merchant*, *Trader* and *Whitefish*, *Manhattan*, *Monticello*, schooner *Geo. W.*



Ford, propeller Peninsular, side-wheelers Sam Ward and Baltimore. In 1845 the Chippewa, 25 tons, sailed Lake Superior. She carried 40 passengers, who were obliged to feed themselves and sleep as best they could on bare boards on the open decks. In her day the brig Ramsey Crooks and the schooner Gen. Warren, owned by the late Dr. John L. Whiting of Detroit, were famous. Capt. Eber Ward placed the side-wheeler Detroit on the route between Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie. In the spring of 1846, the Ben Franklin was put on the route, but was wrecked in Thunder bay, four years later. Then followed the Northerner, London, North Star, Tecumseh, Albany, Illinois and E. E. Collins, also two small steamers, the Gore and Ploughboy. Sheldon McKnight of Detroit did the transporting at the portage in the years 1844 and 1845, using only one old gray mare and a cart, but by 1847 the traffic had so increased that he added another team. Before the opening of the canal, in 1855, McKnight usually moved about 300 tons of freight during the season of navigation.

## INCREASE OF THE MID-CENTURY.

The rapid growth continued, and in 1862 the following tonnage is recorded:

	No. boats.	Tons.	Value.
Steamers .....	147	64,669	\$2,668,900
Propellers .....	203	60,951	2,814,000
Barques .....	62	25,118	621,800
Brigs .....	86	24,871	501,100
Schooners .....	969	204,900	5,248,900
Sloops .....	15	2,800	11,850
<b>Totals .....</b>	<b>1,502</b>	<b>383,309</b>	<b>\$11,866,550</b>

The first cargo of grain for Buffalo was sent in the brig John Kenzie, from Grand river, Mich., 3,000 bushels of wheat. By 1840 a regular trade in grain was established, carried in a large number of small bookers, each about 15 tons. The following table shows the shipments of grain and flour from Chicago from 1840 to 1860:

Year.	Flour.	Wheat.	Corn.
1840 .....	.....	10,000	.....
1845 .....	13,752	956,860	.....
1850 .....	100,871	883,664	262,013
1855 .....	163,419	6,298,155	7,517,625
1860 .....	698,132	12,402,197	13,700,113

## ENORMOUS GROWTH FOR 50 YEARS.

Year.	Sailing Vessels.		Steam Vessels.		Canal Boats and Barges.		Total.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
1851.....	.....	138,000	.....	74,000	.....	.....	.....	214,000
1862.....	1,182	257,689	350	125,620	.....	.....	1,502	383,309
1871.....	1,062	267,154	682	149,467	3,169	295,406	5,513	712,027
1874.....	1,096	336,801	876	194,121	3,028	307,456	5,000	842,381
1879.....	1,473	307,078	896	203,284	718	86,970	3,087	597,376
1880.....	1,469	304,833	831	212,045	872	47,156	3,127	605,102
1885.....	1,322	313,129	1,175	235,859	882	100,966	3,379	749,948
1890.....	1,285	323,043	1,455	575,307	672	71,881	3,412	972,271
1891.....	1,272	324,656	1,527	652,923	711	81,484	3,510	1,063,063
1891.....	1,243	328,131	1,592	736,752	765	92,967	3,600	1,154,870
1892.....	1,258	319,618	1,631	703,083	800	100,901	3,689	1,183,582
1893.....	1,236	317,789	1,731	828,702	825	114,576	3,791	1,251,067
1894.....	1,139	302,942	1,731	843,240	471	81,175	3,341	1,227,400
1895.....	1,100	300,642	1,755	857,735	497	83,082	3,342	1,241,459
1896.....	1,044	309,132	1,792	924,631	497	90,284	3,333	1,324,067
1897.....	993	334,104	1,775	977,235	462	98,763	3,230	1,410,102
1898.....	960	333,704	1,764	983,644	532	110,152	3,256	1,437,500

In 1899 the total tonnage of vessels on these northern lakes having United States registers was 1,446,348 tons, out of a total of 4,864,238 tons in the coastwise and internal traffic of this country, divided as follows: 2,614,869 tons owned on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts; 539,937 tons on the Pacific coast; 263,084 tons on the western rivers; northern lakes, as above, 1,446,348 tons.

## LATEST GIGANTIC STRIDES.

In 1875 the lake tonnage amounted to about 600,000 tons, and the steamer tonnage was about three-fifths of the sailing tonnage. Railroads began a successful competition and rate wars brought a decline in lake equipment and traffic. New construction, which was as high as 73,000 tons in 1874, fell to 7,000 tons in 1877, and averaged only 13,000 tons a year for the five years ending in 1880. In that year the total tonnage aggregated 560,000, being 30,000 less than five years before.

The next decade brought a revival, which is easily connected with lake improvements, the most important being the 18-foot ship canal, which took the place of the 10-foot canal and locks. In 1881 65,000 tons of vessels were constructed, three-fourths of which were steam, averaging 450 tons, where hitherto the average had been but little over 200 tons. From now on, 2,000-ton vessels were commonly built for the long distance traffic. In 1890, the lake shipping increased to 1,000,000 tons and to 1,500,000 tons in 1898; and the maximum size of vessels rose to 5,000, 6,000 and even 7,000 tons. Sailing vessels have almost gone out of use, and the greater part of the traffic is in steamers, or barges towed by steamers.

Before 1888 nine-tenths of the lake vessels were of wood; in that year the iron and steel proportion rose to 20 per cent, and at the present time barely 10 per cent of the tonnage (of new vessels) is of wood.

In 1888 entrances and clearances showed a traffic of 19,200,000 tons; 1890, 37,500,000 tons, about 9,000,000 of which passed through the St. Mary's Falls canal. By 1896 the total traffic was 52,000,000 tons, and in 1898, 62,500,000 tons, 18,000,000 of which passed through St. Mary's Falls canal. Allowing for the Canadian movement (an average of 700 miles of movement to the ton), we have a ton-mileage of 42,000,000,000 for the year 1898—a figure nearly equal to 40 per cent of all the ton-mileage of the entire railroad interests of the country. Ninety per cent of this movement is comprised of grain (including flour), iron ore, lumber and coal.

#### COMMERCE FOR THE YEAR 1900.

The commerce of the great lakes in the navigation season 1900 has exceeded that of any preceding year. The report of the treasury bureau of statistics covering the business of the principal ports, combined with the reports of the officer in charge of the Sault Ste. Marie canal, for the year ending December 31, 1900, and comparing those figures with those of preceding years fully justifies this assertion. The work of the bureau of statistics during the season of 1900 was the first attempt to classify and study the movements in the great articles from port to port upon the great lakes, and while it was not found practicable in this experimental year to include in this work some of the minor ports, or to obtain data in all cases for the opening month of the season, the figures may be accepted as presenting a fairly accurate view of the port to port commerce of the articles and classes of articles which form the bulk of the traffic on this great internal waterway.

According to the figures secured by the bureau of statistics, there were received by vessels at the thirty-seven principal ports on the great lakes between April 1, 1900, and the close of the year, a total of 1,266,234 tons of flour, 52,834,256 bushels of wheat, 70,805,801 bushels of corn, 33,290,767 bushels of oats, 11,526,501 bushels of barley and 1,840,892 bushels of rye. These figures relate purely to the movements between United States ports, and do not, therefore, include the shipments to or from ports on the Canadian side of the canal or through the Welland canal. The great bulk of the grain traffic originated at Chicago and Duluth and had Buffalo as its point of destination. So far as can be judged from the discrepancy between the figures representative of shipments and receipts respectively, after making allowance for the grain in storage on vessels both at the beginning and close of the season, and their shipments from small ports not included in the season's compilation, the movement of grain via the Canadian water routes did not reach the proportions which had been predicted for it.

The receipts of iron ore by water at the ports embraced in the bureau's compilation reached a total of 16,268,027 tons, and this may be accepted as about 85 per cent of the entire movement of iron ore both by rail and water. All the principal ore-receiving and shipping ports are covered by the bureau statement. Of the 16,268,027 tons handled, 15,843,681 tons are shown to have been shipped from the six ports of Two Harbors, Duluth, Escanaba, Ashland, Marquette and West Superior, and 13,623,609 tons were received at the six ports of Ashtabula, Cleveland, Conneaut, South Chicago, Buffalo and Erie—a remarkable exemplification of the extent to which the iron ore traffic is concentrated.

Many different classes of commodities, such as provisions, dry goods and hardware, are reported under the general head of unclassified freight. This movement at the principal lake ports during the past year reached the aggregate of 3,471,131 tons. In this traffic the city of Chicago led with 842,221 tons. The receipts at other ports were: Buffalo, 668,831 tons; Cleveland, 275,673 tons; Detroit, 234,482 tons, and Milwaukee, 325,124 tons.

In view of the effort being made by the owners of the lumber carrying vessels on the great lakes to effect a combination with the purpose of maintaining rates, it is perhaps interesting, as illustrating the scope of this branch of inland commerce, to note that lumber shipments were made during the season from thirty-two of the thirty-seven ports, the commerce of which the bureau of statistics kept a record, receipts being recorded at an equal number of ports. The total receipts aggregated 2,122,403,000 feet.

According to the report of the chief of engineers for 1900, the total Lake Superior traffic through the American and Canadian canals at Sault Ste. Marie for the months of navigation which commenced April 19, 1900, was 21,678 vessels, carrying 27,520,205 tons of freight and 51,050 passengers. The traffic through Detroit river between Lake Huron and Lake Erie is, however, considerably larger. The freight alone is estimated at 40,000,000 tons, and it is stated that the number of vessels is fifteen times as many as those through the great inter-continental Suez canal. For the calendar year 1898, the last one for which we have an authentic report, the number of vessels was 3,503, of 9,238,000 tons, and the number of passengers who went through the canal was 219,000. This comparison with the world's greatest artificial waterway serves to show the present immense development of the commerce of our great lakes.

## A FORECAST OF THE FUTURE.

Hon. George Y. Wisner, ex-deep waterways commissioner, asked to forecast the future of lake traffic and improvements, said:

"To my mind, the 20-foot channel is the limit of depth on the great lakes. Any further depth costs more, for interest on the money, than the gain in profit on freights.

"One of the great problems of the future is to solve the question of fixed drafts, by holding up the low water stage to a constant figure, the season through. At present extreme dry or wet seasons change lake levels from two to three feet.

"The proposed canal from the great lakes to tide water will be an immense factor of the future, and if successfully carried out, will have an effect on great lakes' commerce difficult to forecast.

"I have here a pamphlet in which a French engineer predicts that the vessels of the year 2001 will be 1,000 feet long; but in my opinion that is merely a rosy dream.

"It seems wholly reasonable that the improvement at the Limekiln crossing will eventually be discontinued and, in the future, we shall have an all-American channel on the west side of Grosse Isle.

"While it is easy to make predictions we should not forget that the future must be based on the present; and it is a fact that between Buffalo and Duluth there are over 60 miles of less than 18 feet of water on the main traveled routes, even with all the money already spent. Considering the enormous cost of every foot over 20, I do not expect to see that depth ever very much exceeded, at least with present appliances; and although the motive power of our lake vessels may possibly change to electricity or other forces, the size of the vessels looks to me as already fixed."

## WATER LEVEL OF THE LAKES.

The fluctuation of lake levels has come to be a subject of deep interest, as it may have an influence in the development of commerce by the use of steamers of large tonnage in the near future. As yet there is no complete explanation of the changes. But the tendency of inquiry is to attribute the fluctuations to cosmic causes that have a certain rhythm.

The period of change in level is variable, but it is nearest to the period of change in solar spottedness, which is also variable between ten and sixteen years. In a recent article upon lake levels the Milwaukee Sentinel, passing over ultimate causes, confines attention to records of fluctuation with tentative forecasts of years of high water in the

early part of the twentieth century. These forecasts indicate the recognition of a period of about ten years. The Sentinel names the following years of probable high lake levels: 1906, 1916, 1927 or 1928. These years are selected as following probable years of maximum rainfall.

Low levels are predicted for 1912-13, 1921-22. The period of about ten years is observable in these forecasts. While such a period may be fairly traced it is subject to great inequalities in lake levels during both maxima and minima. There is a longer period that is not so regular as the short one. The high lake levels are set down by the Sentinel as occurring in 1838, 1859, 1876, 1886. Here are two periods of about twenty years and one period of ten years. It may be said of the short period of ten years that two sun spot maxima of unusual spottedness were involved, the maximum of 1871 to 1874 and the maximum of 1883 to 1885.

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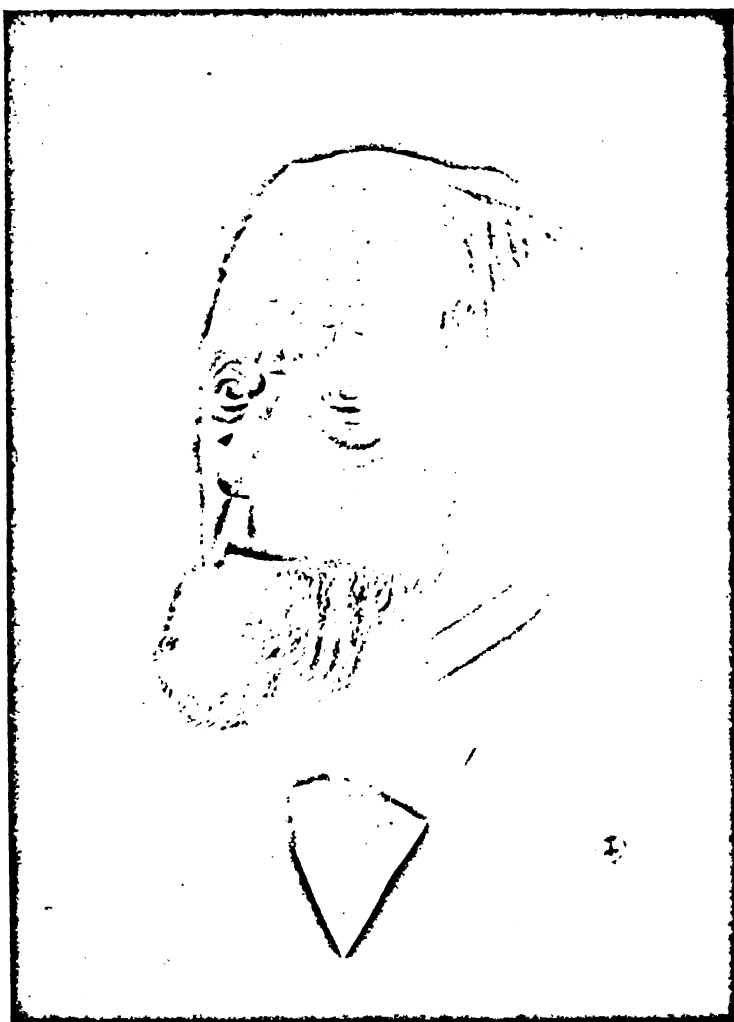
## RECOLLECTIONS OF PIONEER AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE IN MICHIGAN.

BY R. C. KEDZIE.

The committee of historians of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society have asked me to contribute some personal recollections of pioneer life in Michigan, and to extend the narrative to some matters of later date.

My father, living amid the rocky hills of Delaware county, New York, considered the place unsuited to furnish suitable farms for his five boys, and hearing through his trusted friend, Dr. Robert Clark, of Monroe, about the rich, yet cheap lands in Michigan territory, came west in 1824 and bought of the general government 300 acres of land on the banks of River Raisin. In the spring of 1826 he brought his wife and seven children from Delhi, N. Y., to Monroe, Michigan. Part of the journey was by the recently opened Erie canal to Buffalo, and thence by steamboat to the mouth of River Raisin. The river was too shallow to permit the steamboat to reach the main land, and the Monroe passengers and their goods were unloaded on a pier built at the edge of deep water, while the steamboat pursued her way to Detroit.

This pier at the mouth of the river was merely a board platform built above the water, without roof or railing, where passengers could disembark from the steamer. We did not land, for the land was at



**DR. ROBERT C. KEDZIE.**





some distance and the transfer to Monroe was effected by small boats. On the 13th of May, 1826, we reached the pier too late in the day to be rowed ashore. As the platform had no railing and there was danger that some of the children might step off into the water, my father enclosed a sleeping space for the family by a barricade of chests, trunks and boxes, and across the mouth of this partial enclosure he stretched his body as sentinel for the night. Thus guarded and protected we were safe until morning, when good Dr. Clark came with a number of row boats and brought us and ours safely to land.

As the farm on the Raisin, in the eastern edge of Lenawee county, was an unbroken wilderness, and home was yet to be prepared, the family spent the summer in a rented house in Monroe, while father went up the river twenty-five miles to "make an opening" in the dense woods and build a house for our home. This was no trifling task for a man single-handed, with only his axe to hew an abiding place for civilization out of the wilderness and savagery of untamed nature. But at last, with the kindly aid of a few near neighbors (five to six miles away) "to roll up the logs," he made a log house 18x22 feet, and had cleared off a field for orchard, garden and cornfield, and the home began to take form.

Mother kept the children in Monroe in order to give them the opportunity of going to school, which was taught by Anthony McKey. I only "attended the last day of the school," as children are ready to do, and had for my part in the exercises a candy rooster of infantile size. This lesson in natural history I took in very readily and was open for further instruction in the same line.

The summer wore away and we were eager to go to the home in the wild woods, and we were impatient to enter upon the mystery and wildness of primitive nature.

In October the family moved to the new home at Kedzie's Grove. The events of that first night in the woods were indelibly stamped upon my memory. The log house was not finished; the spaces for doors and windows had been cut in the log walls, but the doors and windows to fill those spaces had yet to be brought from Monroe. To fill these yawning openings boxes and chests were piled in, and blankets hung to bar out all intruders. A bright fire was burning in the space where the chimney was yet to be and kept burning all night to warn off all wild beasts. It was literally our "house warming." Just at dusk my brothers took the Indian pony, "Old Gray," to the bottom land to forage for the night, a small bell tied to his neck to find him more readily in

the morning, and to prevent his wandering too far his fore feet were spanceled or tied with a short rope. When this was done the wolves began to gather about the group and the boys with the pony tight at their heels made a bee line for the house "to tarry for the night." The wolves surrounded the house and gave the original Michigan yell in fine form. A rival society, the owls, gave the answering yell and these native societies kept up the serenade all night. Old Gray circled around and around the house, the drum like thump, thump, of his spanceled feet, the shrill terror of his tinkling bell, with the full wolf and owl chorus gave a striking welcome to us in our forest home. It was an unrivaled concert and without an encore from the audience that held reserved seats.

To call the region wild where we had settled was to state the facts tamely. Wild beasts roamed the forests, and wild Indians dominated all, the trees shut out the sight of the sky and the murmur of the winds, as they swept through their interlaced branches, was like the moan of far off seas. The mystery and the terror of the forest were heart crushing. The massive trees that overshadowed our house were too suggestive of disaster if any of them should suddenly come down to our level. A white oak four feet in diameter was "axed" to give way, and when he fell we were invited out doors to "see how it let the sky in." An enemy destroyed! No wonder we came to hate a tree. A huge red oak that towered threateningly above the house was the next marked for slaughter, and he was to die after dark. My father placed a lighted candle in the line of his fall, but beyond the reach of his branches, to show the tide of air that would be carried forward by the falling mass.

When the tree fell the candle flame fluttered and danced for a moment and then threw up its hand in surrender—to the intense delight of the kids. It was my first lesson in pneumatics. The trunks of both of these trees for years remained where they fell, forming a part of the garden fence.

The trees must fall even if they held their sheltering arms over our home, because danger lurked in their very shadow and we must have breathing space and sunlight around our house. These forest monarchs with coronals of green and majesty of form appealed in vain to our sense of beauty.

"Woodman spare that tree," was not a favorite song at Kedzie's Grove. The most beautiful inanimate thing God ever made is a symmetrical tree, but in our eyes it "had no form or comeliness that we should

desire it." It was a rival to be downed, for it held the land we wanted for crops. A man was famous according as he had lifted up axes upon the thick trees. A man that could chop an acre of heavily timbered land in a week commanded respect and received the standing price, \$5.00 an acre. The trees were an obstruction—an enemy to extirpate, not a thing of beauty or a friend to be cherished. It was woods, woods everywhere, trackless, savage, terrifying. They seemed to smother us and we gasped to drink in the open sky. Go out from our house in any direction, it was the unbroken forest for long distances; take the trail eastward, and it was five miles to the first house, Richard Peters', after whom Petersburg was named; go west and it was six miles to the home of Harvey Bliss, after whom Blissfield was named; strike out north or south through the lonely woods and it was twenty or more miles to a white man. When we recall the fact that the woods were the home of treacherous beasts of prey "more fierce than evening wolves," while the arm of man seemed so weak and puny before such foes, what wonder that we grew to hate a tree and clap our hands over his downfall.

Those grand old forests! I look back with remorse upon their pitiless destruction—the rich inheritance of the centuries past wantonly wasted—timber to build the navies of the world, lumber to adorn palaces of kings, burned in log heaps. Whitewood was the only tree that had a market value, because the logs could be floated down the river to Monroe to be sawed into lumber. But the other trees—oak, ash, elm, basswood, hickory and cherry had no quotable value in those early days. If the farms of Lenawee county were again clothed with the forests of 1826 the timber would sell for more than the farms are worth today.

Gail Hamilton in writing about life in Florida exclaimed, "Nine miles from a lemon." But we were twenty-five miles from a mill, store, post-office, doctor, minister and civilization in general and particular. Our roads were merely trails through the woods, marked by blazed trees and our only bridge over the river was a canoe. Not only was the mill twenty-five miles away, but it took time and toil to carry the grain to the mill and bring home the flour. The river must be crossed at Petersburg, and the canoe took the place of bridge. In going to the mill the bags of wheat were carried over the river in the canoe, the horses were unharnessed and made to swim the stream, the harness and wagon piece by piece were ferried over, then all parts put together again, the grain loaded up and the driver could then go to Monroe to get his grist ground, the return journey being a repetition of the first.

To obtain any of the products of civilization, from shop or store, to communicate with our friends by postal service or to come into touch with the world, the same weary road and exhaustive travel were necessary. It was some years before a mail reached us "once a week unless the river was high," when Joe Labadie on his little pony, with mail carried in saddle bags, reached us he brought a cheerful expectancy into our family, probably a newspaper, possibly a letter. We dreamed as little of a daily mail as of a telephone message.

The one social bond in our little settlement was the Sunday school which my father organized as soon as another family settled near us, and this Sunday school was continued as long as he lived and for many years afterward. But our most pressing want in those early years was the district school. For many years we wanted and waited, till at last "the folks" had a meeting to see what could be done to meet this pressing want. A subscription was started to build a school house; offerings of labor, lumber, shingles, etc., were made, and so much encouragement was given that "the neighbors" had a bee and put up in one day the body of a log school house, which was soon completed, and Miss Caroline A. Bixbey, of Adrian, was installed as teacher for the winter, giving great satisfaction to all parties. Just before the three months closed the school house burned and with it most of the school books of the neighborhood.

After another period of suspended animation a school district was organized, another log school house built and a three months' school secured "with a man teacher." The basic rule for the school was "to begin at the beginning." The older scholars, no matter how far advanced in their studies, were expected to take up arithmetic, geography and grammar at the beginning and then proceed as far as they could in the three months. In this way the teacher could keep in advance of the big boys for the winter and avoid a crisis. The great intellectual contest was the spelling school, the boy or girl who could "spell down the school and stump the teacher" was the hero of the winter and champion of the school.

#### WILDCAT BANKING.

The period I am describing embraces the wildcat banking when the "bank notes were made safe by being based upon capital in the form of farms and other realty. What can be a safer basis for banking than land? It will not run away or depreciate." Unfortunately the bank notes would depreciate very rapidly, as we found to our sorrow. Very little trustworthy money was in circulation, and almost no specie. Bank

bills representing dollars were common, but it was difficult to "make change," and to meet this difficulty merchants printed due-bills or "shin-plasters" for fractions of a dollar, "redeemable in bank notes when presented in sums of one or more dollars." This monetary system of Michigan soon collapsed and disappeared forever.

#### GOING TO COLLEGE.

In 1840 I began to seriously consider the question of securing an education, but the prospect was discouraging. Our spree of free banking had been followed by a reaction which "made money tight." There was little market for any farm produce except wheat and pork, and prices for these were low. We raised large crops of corn, but there was no market price we would accept. A distillery at Blissfield would pay a small price for corn, but a family council decided that "Kedzie corn was not made for whisky." The perplexing question confronted me, "wherewithal shall a young man" pay his way through college? My brother Stewart was then in Western Reserve college in Hudson, Ohio, and he gave me words of encouragement, and except for his brotherly sympathy I should probably never have attempted the hopeless task. My mother also favored my purpose, but the other members of the family treated the matter with incredulity. In 1841, with a borrowed capital of \$25, I started for Oberlin college. When my tuition for the first term and my text-books were paid for and a quart of whale oil to supply my lamp had been purchased, I had thirty-seven and a half cents remaining to pay my way through college. My struggles, sufferings and almost starvation in going through college I will not describe; they do not look pleasant even at this distance of time.

#### TEACHING SCHOOL.

One way to earn money common among students was by teaching a district school during the winter vacation. In 1844 I tried to secure this opportunity, but the times were hard and money very scarce. As teaching school was the readiest way of earning a little money nearly every young man who could handle the three R's sought for a situation, and there were two applicants for every school. The competition was intense and wages very low. I traveled 300 miles (on foot part of the way) seeking employment and finally secured a school for three months for \$34, "boarding around." To teach for \$11.33 a month seemed small wages, but it was that or nothing, and the "boarding around" in the families in the district showed me more unsophisticated human nature than I ever found before.

## THE SCARCITY OF MONEY.

After General Jackson's successful war on the United States bank, followed by his "specie circular" requiring all payments to the United States to be made in coin at a time when there was very little coin in the country, there was a scarcity of money hard to conceive in modern times. Our coin was mainly Mexican. This was before the days of cheap and prepaid postage, and sometimes a letter would remain many days in the postoffice before the required twenty-five cents could be secured to pay the postage. These were "the good old times in the early forties." When I hear political speakers extolling those "good old days" I smile at the recollection with no yearning to return.

The rest of my vacations were spent in teaching with better wages. The money thus earned was essential for going forward with my studies. I graduated with my class in 1847, and was immediately engaged as assistant in the Rochester academy under Prof. Peter Moyer. Prof. Moyer was a thorough scholar, a strong character, and enthusiastic teacher who had built up a prosperous academy in Rochester, Mich. He died in a few days after my arrival at Rochester and the responsibility of the academy was thrown on my hands. I taught there for two years, made many friends but little money; I then spent two years in the study of medicine and graduated with the first medical class (seventy members) that took their diplomas from the medical department of the University of Michigan.

The next ten years were spent in the practice of medicine, for the most part in Vermontville, and in December, 1861, I enlisted in the service of the government, being mustered into service as assistant surgeon of the Twelfth Regiment of Michigan Infantry, leaving my wife and three little boys at home. Of my life in the army I need not speak at length, as it was similar to that of thousands of our young men who offered themselves willingly in those days of suspense but of unquestionable loyalty. My first smell of the incense of war was at the battle of Shiloh, where I was captured with all my hospital. On April 20, 1862, I was promoted to be surgeon of the Twelfth Regiment, with which I served until the following October, when I found my health would not permit me to remain in the service, and I resigned and returned to my family. In January, 1863, largely through the influence of E. W. Barber, then clerk of the house of representatives of Michigan, I was appointed by the board of agriculture as professor of chemistry in Michigan Agricultural College, a position which I still hold. From the time when I became connected with the agricultural college my life and work have been so much

in the public eye that no detailed history seems to be required, but there are a few matters that I will speak of more fully, being of historical interest.

#### STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

In 1873 the state board of health was established. As I had taken a lively interest in securing the requisite legislation, Governor Bagley appointed me as one of the six members of the board and I held the position for eight years, being president of the board for half that period. At the end of my term, Governor Jerome reappointed me as member, but as the board of agriculture seemed to feel that my duties on the board of health consumed too much of the time due for college work, I declined the position and have had no connection with the state board of health since 1881.

There are two matters connected with my work in the state board of health to which I look back with satisfaction.

#### I.—INSPECTION OF KEROSENE.

Along in the fifties "coal oil" or kerosene began to come into use for lighting the homes in village and country, while coal gas was the illuminant for the wealthy in the cities. Up to that date, outside of the cities, the lamp fed with whale oil or lard oil was in use among the well-to-do, but in the majority of village and country homes the tallow candle was "the light of other days." About 1858, I bought my first gallon of kerosene for \$1.50, paying \$3.00 for a glass lamp and chimney for burning the kerosene. The oil was of inferior quality, as compared with the kerosene of today; contained much naphtha and gave a disagreeable odor in burning. With increased production the price of the kerosene rapidly declined, and it came into more general use. But it was yet imperfectly refined and, either of a set purpose or by accident so much of the cheap naphtha or benzine was left in the kerosene that it was often dangerously explosive when burned in lamps. The startling head line, "Another Kerosene Horror" appeared with horrible frequency in the newspapers—some poor woman in her peculiarly inflammable clothing had been drenched with the blazing oil and burned like a martyr at the stake. These frightful accidents were repeated day after day until people regarded kerosene as inherently unsafe and necessarily dangerous. To experiment with the stuff was like fooling with gunpowder. During a lecture in representative hall before the members of the legislature upon the inspection and testing of kerosene, some experiments were performed with the oil, when several members

left the hall, saying, "I shall not stay there to be blown up by that ——— fool."

Prior to 1873 no adequate law for the inspection of illuminating oils had been enforced in our state. A district inspector could be appointed by the circuit judge on petition, or, by a later law, a county inspector could be appointed by the governor; but the conditions hampering such officer, and the small emoluments for the discharge of his duties, did not encourage the acceptance of the office or the active discharge of its duties. One remarkable provision of this law was that oils inspected and branded by a state inspector of another state need not be reinspected in this state. Under the provisions of this law hundreds of barrels of kerosene were introduced into our state from Cleveland, bearing the brand "Warranted 150° fire test, E. Fowler, Inspector." Notwithstanding this brand on the kerosene barrels, the explosions of lamps and burning of innocent victims went on with frightful regularity.

#### STATE BOARD OF HEALTH AT WORK.

The law creating the state board of health became operative July 30, 1873. In organizing the board and mapping out its lines of work, certain standing committees were formed to reduce its labors to a regular system. The chairmanship of committee No. 7, "Poisons, explosives, chemicals, accidents, and special sources of danger to life and health," was assigned to me. The "special source of danger to life and health" from the explosive quality of the kerosene in common use seemed to call for early and thorough investigation, and it was the first subject to which I turned my attention, and the first article I wrote for the report of the state board of health was on this subject. The question naturally arose whether these oils had been properly inspected, and whether the brand on the kerosene barrels, "warranted 150° fire test," was warranted; also whether the method of inspection was accurate and would give accurate and uniform results.

In entering upon an investigation of the accuracy and reliability of the methods then in use for oil inspection, I considered that certain facts and conditions must be kept in mind:

1. The vapor of kerosene by itself is not explosive, any more than is air; but the mixture of a combustible vapor with enough air to sustain complete and instantaneous combustion in the presence of flame will cause an explosion in consequence of the sudden expansion of the gases produced by the heat generated by the combustion.

2. The vapor of naphtha is nearly three times as heavy as air, and



will tend to flow to a lower level; it can also be easily swept away by any current of air.

3. If vapor is given off in a closed space, like that within the lamp and above the oil, an explosive mixture of vapor and air in such enclosed space is more readily detected than in open air.

4. The line of danger in kerosene is the lowest temperature at which it will give off in quantity these combustible vapors; the lower the vaporizing temperature, the greater the danger.

Keeping these general principles in mind, I examined the open-cup oil tester in common use in Cleveland to see whether it would give uniform and trustworthy results, not controlled by the will of the operator. This open-cup or commercial tester consists essentially of an open cup to contain the oil to be tested, the oil filling the cup to the brim, a thermometer suspended in the oil to show the progressive changes of temperature, and a water bath to slowly heat the cup of oil. There is nothing to confine any vapor that may form, which may be swept away by any passing current of air, or even the skillfully directed breath of a trained operator; it will flow down the sides of the cup, being heavier than air, and will not pile up on top of the oil unless forming rapidly. To quickly dash a lighted splinter above the surface of the heated oil at a height of one to three inches, at the will of the operator, left oil inspection too much at the will of the inspector. By skillful manipulation he could raise the temperature of the oil many degrees before the mixed vapor and air would burn with a flash, giving "the flash test," or if a large amount of the vapor in burning would set fire to the body of the oil, it would give "the fire test." For these reasons I discarded the open-cup tester and devised the closed-cup tester, which was adopted by the state board of health, and named in honor of the board. The essential difference between the board of health oil tester and the open-cup tester is that there is a vapor chamber above the oil in the cup, and any vapor that forms in testing will be retained in this vapor chamber. When enough vapor gathers in it to form an explosive mixture with the air present in the chamber, a small flame introduced into this space will cause a slight explosion or flash, and the temperature of the oil which will give these conditions for the flash is called "the flash test." The instrument was very easily managed and gave very uniform results. A Cleveland oil inspector said to me: "The Michigan tester is very accurate; you cannot make it vary more than a degree or two." This Michigan tester was adopted by our legislature as the official oil tester, and has been adopted in many states.

## TESTING KEROSENE.

In August, 1873, I bought specimens of kerosene on sale in Detroit, Kalamazoo, Jackson, Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Dowagiac and Lansing, in all sixty-four samples, from barrels with the 150° fire test warranty. These were tried with the Michigan tester, and out of sixty-four samples only three came up to the warranted standard, seventeen more had a flash test of 120° or more, and forty-four had a flash test below 120°; many fell below 100°, and one as low as 90°. Here was adequate explanation of the kerosene accidents in our state, only one in twenty-one coming up to the standard required by law. These results were published, and the public press took up the subject in earnest and made it so hot for the oil refiners that the Standard Oil company sent their inspector to Detroit to explain and vindicate their method of inspection, and to show that kerosene then sold in the state was fully up to the 150° fire test. He was granted a hearing by the Detroit board of trade. By using the open-cup tester, fixing their attention upon the thermometer and diverting notice of the manner of handling the small ignited splinter as he dashed it at some distance above the vapors there forming, he showed a temperature of 150° in the oil before it took fire. The board of trade were satisfied and passed a resolution that Mr. Fowler, inspector of the Standard Oil company, had explained the process of inspecting illuminating oils, and had demonstrated in their presence that the kerosene now on the market would stand the test of 150°, as claimed by the company. Armed with such endorsement from so eminent a body, Mr. Fowler announced to the newspapers in Detroit that he would proceed to Lansing to commence suit against Dr. Kedzie in the United States court in the penal sum of \$50,000 for defamation of character.

When he came to Lansing a few physicians who were interested in this subject—Drs. H. B. Baker, I. H. Bartholomew, Geo. E. Ranney and myself—invited Mr. Fowler to repeat the demonstration he had made before the board of trade in Detroit. Going into Dr. Ranney's office, we produced a specimen of kerosene just purchased from a grocery and asked him to verify the correctness of the brand, "warranted 150° fire test," that he had affixed to the barrel. He began the trial, but passed his burning splinter at some distance above the oil cup, until Dr. Bartholomew strongly objected: "Bring the flame down near the surface of the oil where the vapors are forming, not some inches above them; bring it down—down—down!" When the flame was lowered until it was a half inch from the surface of the oil, the vapors ignited and the

oil took fire long before the thermometer marked 150°. The demonstration was a failure.

I then tested the same kerosene by the Michigan tester, and showed that the flashing point was 110°. Mr. Fowler then took me aside and said: "Doctor, you have been pretty rough on me in your criticism of our method of inspection. Do you know that my means of living depends upon this inspection, and that you are taking the bread out of the mouths of my wife and children?" I replied: "You have been rough upon our people by this sham inspection, as shown by the burnings and deaths of our people by the use of these low-grade and falsely branded oils. I cannot pit the safety and lives of our people against the bread of your family!" This ended our interview and the suit for \$50,000 in the United States court.

#### STATE OIL INSPECTOR.

Prior to 1873 no adequate law for the inspection of illuminating oils had been enforced in this state. Under the law of 1873 "the governor, upon the application of five or more residents of any county, shall appoint a suitable person" to inspect oils in such county; such county inspector must provide at his own expense the necessary apparatus, when requested shall inspect the oil, must take the constitutional oath of office, shall execute a bond with surety "for the use of all persons aggrieved by the acts or neglect of said inspector," and for such inspection and marking he was entitled to a fee of ten cents for each barrel inspected "upon the requisition of any manufacturer or dealer." I have never heard of any person appointed a county inspector of oils that accepted service when appointed, especially as he was liable to "a fine not exceeding ten hundred dollars" under certain conditions.

To cap the climax of absurdity, while one section of this law required a test of 150° under Michigan inspectors, another section permitted their introduction and sale from other states if "the oils had been inspected in another state and bore the brand of the state inspector showing that they had been inspected and stand a fire test of 110° F."

Naturally we felt a curiosity to know more about the state oil inspector whose work seemed to be so highly prized by our legislators above that of Michigan inspectors.

"Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed  
That he is grown so great?"

Dr. Baker wrote to the secretary of state of Ohio on this subject, and received the following reply:

## STATE OF OHIO,

Department of State,

Columbus, Dec. 10, 1873.

Sir—In reply to your letter of 8th instant, I beg to say that the law regulating the sale of illuminating oils in this state does not provide for a state inspector of oils, nor has this department any knowledge of the existence of such an officer, nor does it appear from the executive records that the state has any authorized inspector.

Very respectfully,

A. T. WIKOFF,

Secretary of State.

No state inspector in Ohio! Inspection a sham! Yet we had leaned on this broken reed for legal protection against burning and death!

This so called inspector was merely the hireling of the Standard Oil company; had taken no oath of office, was under no bonds, and the worst that could happen to him was the loss of the favor of his employers, and their profit would naturally be his first concern. In case of doubt in inspection as between the safety of the kerosene user and the profit of the oil refiner, the benefit of the doubt would naturally be given to the oil refiner. And the legislature of a great state was willing to set aside our laws in deference to the superior safety of such inspection. There is no faith equal to the trusting confidence of guileless ignorance!

## STATE INSPECTION.

In our efforts to protect the people from accidents and danger in the use of illuminating oils, it soon became evident that two things were essential to that end:

1. Inspection must embrace the whole state; no county system of inspection could do the work effectually.

2. However good the law, it would not enforce itself. Some person must have this power, and it must be his duty to enforce the law and to prevent the sale of all kerosene below the legal standard. By preventing their sale such unsafe oils would be driven out of the state, and the refiners of kerosene would soon learn that it was for their interest to send high-grade oils into our state.

To secure these objects, Mr. Bates of Flint and Mr. Greenfield of Detroit came to my laboratory by appointment, where a bill was drawn up to be presented to the legislature, then in session, providing for a state oil inspector, defining his duties and giving him power to carry out state inspection. The bill was introduced and promptly enacted.

It is substantially the law now in force in this state. Mr. Day was appointed state inspector and entered with energy upon the discharge of his duties, a reflux wave of unsafe kerosene set back to Ohio, and notices of "kerosene horrors" rapidly disappeared from the newspapers.

To keep up the high test required by our law the refiners soon found that they could raise the test of low-grade oils by running in a quantity of oils produced in refining, containing paraffine. While a high-test oil could thus be made out of cheap material, the burning quality of the oil was greatly impaired. I suspected that the oil company, they succeeded, for they ran in so much paraffine oil that in cold of making high-test oils unpopular with our people. If such was their plan, they succeeded, for they ran in so much paraffine oil that in cold weather the kerosene became solid, like lard, and could not be drawn from the barrel unless warmed by the stove in the store. Of course such oil would not give a good light, and the agents of the oil company persuaded the people that this trouble came from our high test and the remedy was to lower the test to 110°, and a very general demand was made for this change in the test.

#### THE CHILL TEST.

Finding that the quality of the oil was impaired by the presence of this paraffine oil, the law was amended by introducing "the chill test," viz.: that when the oil is cooled to 20° F. for ten minutes it must remain clear and transparent to pass inspection. If a sensible quantity of paraffine was present in the oil it would separate when thus cooled and form a cloud of precipitated paraffine. Oil that would stand the chill test had a burning quality of the very best.

But the chill test was a stunner for the oil refiners. A high official in the Standard Oil company in Cleveland said to me: "We thought we could get around any law that could be passed by your legislature, but when we met your chill test we struck a rock; we could not get around it in any way. How you came to hit upon the chill test and the flash point of your law I do not know, but they give the best illuminating oil that can be made from petroleum. It is the best in the world, and takes the very heart out of the products of our refining, and other states must put up with poorer stuff, while Michigan takes the cream." I replied: "The best is none too good for Michigan."

Then the price of kerosene ran up to 28 cents a gallon. There was a great outcry against the exorbitant price, and I was accused of conspiring with the Standard Oil company to rob the people. One newspaper said, "By joining hands with the oil company in this steal, Dr.

Kedzie has made not less than \$300,000." Another paper called me "the prince of bummers and thieves." For a time I was the best-abused man in the state.

At the next meeting of the legislature the high test and the chill test were knocked out. One representative from Sanilac county said to me: "We are going to have cheap kerosene, even if we have to abolish the state board of health." But with the low-test oil came back the old conditions of insecurity and danger, and the people again called for protection. The flash test was placed at 120°, but the chill test has never been restored. The people have received some of its incidental benefits, for the "water white" kerosene will, to a certain degree, stand the chill test, but the yellowish kerosene retains some of the paraffine oil.

Questions of oil inspection were not agitated for a time, until the meeting of the legislature of 1891, when a member of the house of representatives conceived the happy thought of "lowering the test of kerosene to 110°, thus reducing the retail price of the oil one cent a gallon, and thus saving to the people of our state \$300,000 a year." Legislation for this purpose was secured, the test was reduced, but the quality of the oil was poor, and fires from lamp and lantern explosions became so frequent that the fire insurance agents in Michigan invited me to give an address on the relation of the flash test of illuminating oils to safety of houses and buildings. I gave such an address, with illustrations and demonstrations, at the chemical laboratory in January, 1892. This address was printed and widely scattered throughout the state. At the next meeting of the legislature the Ferguson law was repealed and the old law with the flash test of 120° was restored.

The promised reduction of cost of kerosene of one cent a gallon did not materialize, for the price after the law was passed was the same as before. Having a curiosity to know whether "the doctor would take his own medicine," I sent a young man to Ferguson's store in Okemos, after his law was in force, to buy a gallon of kerosene, but the price was the same as before the test reduction. I was curious to know who got that promised saving of \$300,000 a year, because the saving to the people "wasn't worth a cent."

## II.—SANITARY CONVENTIONS.

The work of the state board of health was inspiring; discovery of the causes of sickness, the prevention of the spread of communicable disease and control of epidemics; pure water and pure air; warming our persons and dwellings; sewers and disposal of sewage, etc.—all these and others of like class were full of interest. But the thought continually recurred,

"we are not reaching the masses; we shoot over their heads, and if anybody is hit, it is only by a stray shot." This is the fault of all new recruits, while the wise general says "shoot low." To do our best work we must come in touch with the masses. There is a saving power in these words. The blessed Savior before the loathsome leper laid his hand upon him before pronouncing the words "be thou clean." We help and bless no one short of coming in touch with them. We had been at work at the special subjects that came before us, earnestly but quietly, and certainly without "blowing a trumpet before us," but at the same time neglectful of the injunction, "Let your light shine before men."

In my first address as president of the board of health in 1878, among other matters, I placed before that body the project of inaugurating a system of sanitary conventions to be held by the board in various parts of the state for discussing sanitary subjects and bringing to the people the matters we had been studying in connection with our work in the board. The value and the need of fuller and more widespread information on these subjects had become manifest. Not only sanitarians, but the people at large, are grasping that important and revolutionary idea, the possibility of the prevention of sickness and death; that many diseases may be prevented altogether, or that when they do appear they may as certainly be stamped out as a forest fire may be extinguished, or they may be walled in like an inundation. A people that fully grasps the idea that half of the sickness and death may as truly be obviated as they may prevent the destruction of their crops from cattle by proper fencing, has taken a long stride in state medicine. The idea is germinal and will spring up in "trees of life whose leaves are for the healing of the nations." When men clearly see that they may honestly repudiate half the claims of sickness and death, they will soon learn to use the means for their own protection. That old cynic understood human nature when he exclaimed, "Skin for skin; Yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life." But the people need to clearly apprehend and to fully comprehend one additional fact, that each person is in the broadest and fullest sense healthy and safe only as every person about him is also healthy and safe. The starved and neglected prisoner in jail or in workhouse, the despised or forgotten pauper in filthy hovel or wayside ditch, may vindicate their claim to our common humanity by making us heirs of all they possess—bequeathing to us the very diseases which destroyed them. Rowland Jenks, in the ill-kept and overcrowded Oxford jail, reeking with malignant typhus, when arraigned at the Oxford assize vindicated before that haughty court his claim to a common humanity by infecting judge,

jury, lawyers, witnesses and spectators with the dreadful fever contracted in their neglected and suffocating jail, for the whole court speedily died by this same fever, which spread through that city and the surrounding country until five hundred persons perished within six weeks with the fever imparted by this single prisoner.

The lesson that society is an organic whole, and that "if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it," the people are slow to learn. It was a murderer (and to conceal his murder) that first asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The spirit of that question is in direct opposition to the cardinal principle of state medicine, that "each man is safely kept only as he safely keeps his brother."

It was to enforce and carry out this principle of the reciprocity and interdependence of human welfare that I urged the sanitary conventions. In these sanitary conventions it was proposed that papers should be read by members of the board and others who desired to promote the public health, setting forth in popular form the more salient features of sanitary science, the discussions following each paper to be open to every person who either has information to impart on the subject under discussion, or who desires to gain further information on the same.

The objections to the proposed conventions were frankly stated:

1. They are an untried experiment. We have, indeed, learned societies that meet for the consideration of such subjects, such as the American public health association, but there is not in our land a state association where the experts in science, sanitarians, doctors, lawyers, ministers and scholars meet the common people on a common level to discuss questions and compare views on matters of common interest to every human being.

2. They throw a large amount of work upon the members of this board; but unless the members are ready to contribute toil and time to this work, it should not be undertaken.

3. These meetings may prove a failure from want of public interest in these subjects, or because we fail to properly present the facts and principles of sanitary science.

These are some of the considerations which would lead us to hesitate about attempting the untried experiment.

On the other hand there are certain possible, if not probable, advantages to be secured by such means.

1. We may in this way interest the people in sanitary work. Our reports reach only a small fraction of our population, and of those who receive the volume I fear that many, without reading or examination,



merely place it upon the library shelf with other "public documents," where it remains in undisturbed safety. But the state board of health, that only reaches and influences a few, fails of its duty, for it is "the interests of the health and life" of the people that we are set to guard. By popularizing sanitary science we not only interest the community, but we bring sanitary matters into popular form suited for the ubiquitous secular press.

2. We may in this way not only interest the people in our work, but induce them to practically apply the principles in practical life. There is in every people a social inertia, a disposition to let things alone, a conservatism which regards everything as "good enough, well enough, time enough," which is the enemy of all progress. But if we can show the people that the dangers from neglect of sanitary precautions, from the use of low-grade kerosene, of unventilated rooms, foul cellars, contaminated wells and foul privies, are not distant and fanciful dangers, but that they may threaten them now and in their very homes, walk by their side or dog their footsteps wherever they go, we shall break up this apathy and cause them to act.

3. We may enlist the active co-operation of physicians, especially of the more intelligent class.

4. To exhibit and illustrate sanitary appliances and to make people practically acquainted with the best now in use. At agricultural fairs, the inventor and the manufacturer of labor-saving machinery find a ready way to bring their implements to the notice of the public. The farmers also find there an opportunity to see the machinery, see it work and see how it works, compare one machine with a competing machine, learn the price, where it can be bought, etc. In the same manner let us bring the manufacturer of sanitary apparatus and the health-lover and health-preserver together to the mutual benefit and enlightenment of both. Let us make the sanitary convention a sanitary fair, where may be exhibited every kind of appliance which directly or indirectly promotes the health and well-being of the people. I would not restrict the exhibits to sewer pipes, ventilating cowls and nose-skinning disinfectants. A good cook stove is eminently a sanitary instrument; an improved saucepan or soup-kettle, a better can for preserving fresh fruits, a better lamp for saving our eyesight, are each and all sanitary instruments. In short, anything which will give us better food, purer air and water, cleaner clothes, sweeter and more restful sleep, is a sanitary appliance.

5. Finally, in carrying out any sanitary reform we must have the aid of the women of our state. There are many fields where not one or two,

but all the women of our state may aid this work. Whether we regard the objects of sanitary science as the removal of the cause and limiting the spread of disease, or as the improvement of the physical condition of the people, in either work we need woman's helping hand. Woman makes the home, for her life is there; and the appliances and conditions of comfortable living come from her plastic hand. Except in his sleeping hours, man spends but a small fraction of his time in the house; he merely contributes, in their crude form, the materials for the family support, while it is the deft hand of woman that transmutes these dead materials into the family living.

In the introduction of most sanitary reforms among the people, we must rely upon the active, hearty and intelligent co-operation of woman. To secure this, we need to awaken her interest in such reforms and cause her to comprehend the nature, scope and needs of such reform. All these can best be accomplished by the presentation of sanitary principles in popular form, which can be effectually accomplished in these sanitary conventions. Whatever women may have to contribute to the stock of sanitary science can be appropriately brought forward in these meetings, in which I should hope that women as well as men would be encouraged to take an active part.

Such are some of the features of a sanitary convention as the thing has formed itself in my mind, and such are some of the considerations for and against your undertaking such a work. Perhaps it is wild, visionary, and impracticable; I do not ask you to adopt it at sight; I hope you will not reject it without consideration.

In all our plans for future effort we are not to forget that our work is advisory, not mandatory. We command no one but ourselves. In the legislative discussions which preceded the organization of this board, it was objected that the proposed board would have no power to enforce its precepts, and hence would be a harmless thunderbolt; but among a free people the surest if not the quickest way to remove any great evil is to clearly point out the evil itself, its extent and its effects; many interests, injured or at least threatened by the evil, without concert, silently place themselves in opposition; a thousand eyes at once are turned to the examination of this evil and its tendencies; the social forces and instincts rise up in serried ranks like the armed warriors that leaped forth from bush and stone at the whistle of Roderick Dhu; that wonderful and complex phenomenon which we name "a change in public opinion" ensues, and the evil finds it must take itself out of the way, for it has no home amid a hostile people. In this way the wrongs which

threaten society right themselves when brought to the bar of public opinion. Such rectifications are the more permanent and abiding because they take place by the action of natural laws, and not by the exercise of arbitrary authority. The silent forces are the most powerful; the noisy, loud-mouthed forces dissipate half their energy in the very noise itself. The boom of the cannon is brag, but the silently whirling cannon-shot means business. Many persons seem to feel a sort of contempt for the sunshine—"good and useful, but so weak and powerless"—the strongest name by which they call it is "the gentle sunshine." Yet before the flashing lightning the same persons turn pale with awe, "because it is an agent of such terrible power," whereas the sunlight exceeds in energy a thousand fold the lightning, and but for the hiding of the power of the sunlight, the lightning itself would die still-born.

The office of this board is not to convulse the community with lightning shock, but to let in the sunlight, which, "silent as the footfalls of time, but resistless as destiny," shall mould and fashion the very conditions of life in our state.

The sanitary conventions were organized and have continued their work (under a changed name) to the present time. That they have a use is attested by the fact that they live; that they have been useful is proved by the results. Compare what we may call the sanitary atmosphere in our state as we find it today with that of thirteen years ago, and you will get some measure of the influence of the sanitary conventions.

#### LIFE AND WORK AT THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

In January, 1863, I was elected professor of chemistry, succeeding Dr. L. R. Fisk, and have been in continuous service in that office up to this date, and have lived at the college in the same house for 38 years. Looking back over that interval of time, and comparing the agricultural college of 1863 with that of 1901, I see wonderful changes. It has expanded from a faculty of six professors and instructors to one of nearly fifty, an enrollment of forty students to 627, a country hamlet of four cottages and two halls to a lively village with electric cars and lights and stone walks, ten laboratories, six public halls, and expanding hopes for the future. These are only the mile-posts of our progress.

In connection with my work at the college, outside of the class room, there are three lines of endeavor to which I look back with satisfaction:

1. Farmers' institutes.
2. Fertilizer inspection.
3. Beet sugar.

## I.—THE FARMERS' INSTITUTES.

For a long time in its early history the college did not succeed in its efforts to secure the friendship of the public, for a variety of reasons. We had a few warm friends, but the great mass gave us the cold shoulder. The college was established, in accordance with the requirements of the state constitution, by the legislature when the republican party first came into power in this state, and the democrats regarded it as "a republican pet," and treated it accordingly. The college was located near Lansing as a compromise, because the friends of the college could not unite on any other place. The location of the state capital "in the woods of Ingham county" was regarded with disfavor by the many flourishing cities that hoped to secure this prize and regarded the location at Lansing as only temporary, and the aversion to Lansing, the capital, was easily extended to the college planted by its side, and they spoke of it as "the Lansing bantling." A land syndicate wanted to furnish the site of the college on a tract of land where the school for the blind now stands, and when their offers were rejected and the college planted three miles from the city, Lansing did not take a lively interest in the welfare of her distant neighbor; outside the city limits, the college was also outside of her active support. The southern counties of the state, proud of their successful farming, resented the plan of taking the agricultural college from the counties where the most successful farming was carried on to plant it in forest wilds in the center of the state, and spoke of it as "that college in the woods." With such dry nurses and guardians, it is a wonder that the infant agricultural college survived the period of its teething.

A further complication arose from the fact that the land grant (Morrill) fund of 240,000 acres was much desired by the friends of the university for its endowment. At the same period the eloquent President Tappan was urging the plan of having all departments of higher education located in one place, and Ann Arbor was to become the university, the center of our educational system. Such considerations tended to turn the agricultural college with its endowment over to the university. Petitions and bills for this purpose were presented to the legislature for these changes. The pressure in this direction was possibly strengthened in some localities by the secret hope that the removal of the college would be an entering wedge for the removal of the state capital to a more eligible position. It was only on the permanent location of the capital by an appropriation to build the state house in 1871 that these efforts at the removal of capital and college finally ceased.

Most of the newspapers heartily sympathized with both these efforts at removal; our efforts to build up the college received little encouragement at their hands. A cold north wind seemed to blow upon all our efforts to secure students and friends that chilled us to the bone. During this time of depression it seemed to a few of us it was not wise to sit still and complain of the indifference and suspicion with which we were regarded, but to place ourselves in such relation to the public as would compel their confidence and co-operation. On invitation, some of us went out to give lectures on points connected with our work, but we were counted as outsiders—it was “your meeting.” We longed for the hour when they would say “our meeting.”

The scheme of going among the people by appointment to hold meetings in which the farmers would take an active part in discussion of farm matters of immediate interest in their locality, while the professors would present the scientific side of the subject, and thus make friends by awakening a community of interest, was urged upon the faculty time after time without results. In answer to the argument that this was the best way to make friends for the college, a leading member of the faculty replied, “We don’t need to; we have now all the friends we can use.” Perhaps we have all we can use, but when a large proportion of the farmers in our best agricultural counties are unfriendly, and many of the members of the legislature from such districts vote against the college, I think we do not have all the friends we need. Between the active opposition of one of the faculty and the indifference of some others, the plan failed to materialize.

The legislature of 1875 seemed to be unusually indifferent to the college, and even the standing committee of the house on the agricultural college seemed little inclined to discuss the wants and needs of the institution. President Abbot returned from a meeting with the committee completely discouraged. He called a meeting of the faculty and frankly stated the conditions and prospects for the college appropriation for the next two years. “It has been urged by some of you that we go out among the farmers to discuss matters related to our work here and thus interest them in the college.” “Too late! There is no use of holding such meetings with the farmers while we are under fire before the legislature. We must weather this storm as best we can, and when ‘the clouds roll by’ it will be time to take up the plan for farmers’ institutes.” The storm passed away, but no mention was made of holding meetings with the farmers. I then interviewed several members of the faculty, told them that the subject of farmers’ institutes would be

brought up in the next meeting of the faculty, and they must vote for the movement.

May 7, 1875, at the regular meeting of the faculty, I offered the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the president to draw up a scheme for a series of farmers' institutes to be held in different parts of the state during the next winter, including in the exercises of such institutes lectures and essays by members of the faculty; that the several members of the state board of agriculture and leading farmers residing in the vicinity of the place of holding such institutes be respectfully and earnestly requested to participate in the exercises by lectures, essays and discussions.

"Resolved, That said committee be instructed to confer with the state board of agriculture at its next meeting to make all necessary arrangements for inaugurating and carrying out such series of farmers' institutes."

After thorough discussion the resolutions were unanimously adopted, and President Abbot appointed as such committee R. C. Kedzie, W. J. Beal and R. C. Carpenter. On June 1, 1875, this committee laid before the state board a memorial urging the adoption of the scheme for farmers' institutes and outlining somewhat fully the nature and scope of the proposed work, and giving reasons for establishing this new departure in the work of the college.

This memorial was printed in full in the report of the board for 1875, and need not be quoted at length in this article.

The board took a lively interest in the scheme and discussed it with care. "It will be a great success if it succeeds," said Mr. Childs, "and a flat failure if it fails," added another. "Doctor, tell us what you would consider a success in an institute," said Mr. Phillips. "If fifty good farmers will attend an institute, take part in its exercises, identify themselves with it so fully that they will say 'We have had a good meeting and we hope to have another,' I would call it a success." "We can do that right in my town, and I want the first farmers' institute to be held in Armada, and I'll see that it is a success," exclaimed George W. Phillips.

The state board of agriculture then and there adopted the Michigan system of farmers' institutes, namely, the holding in various sections of the state joint meetings of the representatives of the board and faculty of the agricultural college, with leading farmers and all persons in any community who are interested in agriculture in its broadest sense, to dis-

cuss questions of general interest in farming, and in particular, subjects of special interest in the locality, and relating to any part of this great industry.

A plan had been tried in Sweden and in a few states of having the agricultural college invite the farmers to come to the college for a few meetings to listen to papers and lectures on agricultural subjects by the professors, but the farmer took no part in the meetings except to listen, contributing nothing from his abundant stores of knowledge of rural affairs; but farmers' institutes in which the farmer is side-tracked did not prove successful. The old question whether the mountain should come to Mahomet or Mahomet should go to the mountain received the usual answer in this case. In forming the plan for the Michigan farmers' institutes it was concluded that it would be better for Mahomet to pack his grip and go to the mountain, considering that it was necessary for the college to come in touch with the farmers if it would benefit them or receive good from them in return.

The success of these farmers' institutes, by co-operation of the agricultural college with the farmers through the grange, the farmers' clubs and other organizations, is evidence of the vitality of the plan. It took root and grew with increasing vigor from year to year, and has spread to other states and even to foreign lands.

In the beginning the friends of the farmers' institutes were hopeful, yet anxious. It was thought that perhaps six places could be found in the state which would take an interest in the meetings and aid in their success, and a committee of the board (Messrs. Childs, Dyckman and Gard) was appointed to find places and receive invitations from places desiring the institutes. Instead of six invitations, they received more than thirty, and the embarrassing thing was to decide which to refuse.

As preparing the way for this new departure in farmers' meetings and to give information to the public on the subject, the board "requested Prof. Kedzie to write an article setting forth a general plan for the institutes and objects sought to be secured by them, and to have the article published in several of the leading papers of the state."

The article was prepared and published in the Lansing Republican and Michigan Farmer in September, 1875, and copied in a large number of the papers of the state. Extracts from this article are given as follows:

"Who will take part in the meetings?—It is expected and earnestly desired that leading farmers in the vicinity of the institute will give lectures, read essays and take part in the discussions. It is expected

that the discussions will be of especial interest, in which farmers will give their views and relate their experience upon the topics proposed for discussion. As the topics for discussion will be selected by the local committee where the institute is to be held, the public will thereby be assured that such topics for discussion will be presented as will be of especial interest to that community. The members of the board will also take part in the proceedings, and members of the college faculty."

"Who are invited?—Everyone who tills the soil or is interested in agriculture. Farmers and their wives and families are specially invited; also all those who honor or would benefit the noblest of all industries."

#### OBJECTS.

"1. It is not the design to secure mere rhetorical efforts, but to meet and talk over, in a common sense way, matters of vital interest to the farmer.

"2. One object to be secured is to bring the farmers, the board and the faculty of the agricultural college into closer relations to each other in hopes of mutual benefit; that the teacher may have the benefit of the broad and extensive experience of the farmer, and that the farmer may perhaps derive hints from the teacher to be put in practice on the farm.

"3. One very important object to be secured is to gather up and preserve in permanent form the results of agricultural experience and the views of leading farmers in different parts of the state.

"4. Finally to give a broader scope to the instruction at the agricultural college and to make it more fully than ever before the exponent of the most progressive and advanced agriculture of our state."

The first farmers' institutes were held in January, 1876. The first of the set were held in Allegan and in Armada, January 11, 1876.

The institutes from start to finish were well attended, the halls crowded, the interest maintained with enthusiasm and papers and discussions of great value were forthcoming.

The Allegan institute celebrated its 21st anniversary January 11, 1897, when Gen. B. D. Pritchard again presided with grace and dignity, and many others were there who spoke with feeling of their attendance twenty-one years before and recalled incidents of the good time had in the first farmers' institute. I had the great satisfaction of assisting at this anniversary of the first farmers' institute, and of shaking hands with many friends who met me there twenty-one years earlier.



## II.—ANALYSIS OF COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS.

Analyses of commercial fertilizers and license for their sale were not required in Michigan before the year 1885. Free trade of the widest scope was the practice up to that date. Any person having any substance supposed to have fertilizing quality could offer it for sale without hindrance in this state. Dealers in other states could send in material of small value, but with a catching name, and offer it for sale at such rates as to drive out fertilizers of real value but costing more. The cheats of lower cost and least value could drive out the fertilizer of greater cost and of real value. The average farmer could not tell with certainty from the physical appearance of various fertilizers which was the most valuable and which was not worth buying at any price.

When bordering states required analysis of fertilizers and certificate of their composition before they were offered for sale within their borders, our farmers became suspicious that low grade goods that were unsalable in other states were shipped into Michigan where no inspection was required. This suspicion was strengthened when some of these fertilizers with a big name and small value were brought to the college for analysis, and the results, showing their low value, were printed in the newspapers. For example, a "Buckeye Phosphate," selling at \$10 to \$15 a ton, was shipped in from Ohio, but was only marl and of no more fertilizing value than the thousands of acres of marl found in our state and which could be had for the digging. Legitimate trade in fertilizers was blocked by such revelations.

Matters drifted along in this unsatisfactory shape until a crisis developed at the state fair in Detroit, when two manufacturers in that city entered their "superphosphate" for the premium in their class. The committee of award had no knowledge of the composition of commercial fertilizers, nor any means of determining their relative value except by their sensible qualities. Judged by such a standard they found one "superphosphate" was a gray powder, without offensive properties, while the other was a black mass giving off an offensive odor. The committee therefore gave the first premium to the innocent gray powder and the second premium to "the stinking black stuff." But the manufacturer of the latter material would not accept this verdict, appealed from their decision and demanded a chemical analysis of both specimens to determine their relative value as a fertilizer. The materials were sent to the college for analysis, which showed that the innocent gray powder did not contain a particle of "superphosphate," but consisted of bleached ashes and soap-boilers' waste, while "the black

stinking stuff" was a genuine "superphosphate," containing a large per cent of water-soluble phosphoric acid.

It soon became evident that official analysis of commercial fertilizers and state control of their sale were necessary for the protection of farmers and also of the manufacturers who desired to carry on an honorable business in an honest way. Indeed the demand for a fertilizer law came largely from the manufacturers themselves.

#### WHY A FERTILIZER LAW WAS PASSED.

A few experiences of this kind, reinforced by discovering that inert materials were being shipped into our state and sold as fertilizers at prices out of all proportion to their value, and the knowledge that fertilizers rejected in other states because of low values could still be dumped upon our market, the farmers left to the mercy or avarice of dealers, honest or unscrupulous, as the case might be, led to a demand on the part of both consumers and honest manufacturers of commercial fertilizers for a law which would compel a statement of the fertilizing materials contained in any commercial manure costing more than \$10 a ton. The demand was primarily to protect the farmer and fruit-grower from imposition—to enable them to know the kind and quality of the materials they buy for fertilizers; in the second place the aim was to protect the honest manufacturer from the competition of unscrupulous manufacturers and dealers whether in this state or in other states.

These considerations caused the enactment in 1885 of a "law providing for the inspection of commercial fertilizers and regulating the sale thereof."—Act No. 126, Session Laws of 1885.

#### OBJECT OF INSPECTION OF COMMERCIAL FERTILIZERS.

The law does not prescribe any standard for the composition of a commercial fertilizer, the manufacturer being free to make his own standard, the law simply requiring that the fertilizers offered for sale shall be up to the standard set by the manufacturer. The license to sell does not certify to the value of the fertilizer, but simply states that the manufacturer or dealer offers for sale a fertilizer for which a certain content of nitrogen, potash and phosphoric acid is claimed, and that samples of such fertilizers have been deposited with the secretary of the college with affidavit regarding the composition. Analysis is then made of each of these fertilizers, gathered in the open market as far as possible, and the results of such analysis published in bulletin. The claimed composition and found composition are arranged in parallel lines, so that the real composition can be compared at a glance with the composition

claimed for it by the manufacturer. In this way the buyer can see at once by this bulletin whether the fertilizer is as good as it claims.

#### DIFFICULTIES IN ENFORCING THE LAW.

The chief difficulty in enforcing the law is the fact that most of the factories are outside the state and beyond the reach of our law. A Michigan law has no jurisdiction in Chicago, Cleveland or Buffalo, and we cannot compel manufacturers in these cities to take out license for sale of their fertilizers. The only persons amenable to our law are the agents of these manufacturers in our state, and it seems harsh to enforce a penalty of \$100 on some agent who sells a few tons of fertilizers, simply because his factory has neglected to take out a license. There is a proviso in the law that if any manufacturer takes out a license for any fertilizer, his agents in the state are exempt from tax and penalty for the sale of such fertilizer. Manufacturers and their agents have recognized the propriety and the economy of this proviso and availed themselves of the same, and one source of friction in enforcing the law is thus happily removed.

This fertilizing law, judiciously enforced, has been beneficial in our state, placing the sale of commercial fertilizers upon a sound basis. The manufacturers, agents and farmers soon recognized the propriety of the law and friction between them and the college in enforcing the law soon ceased.

#### A THREAT AND THE RESULTS.

The most serious encounter I had in connection with the analysis of fertilizers was with a company in Ohio that was putting on our market large quantities of their "farmers' favorite," a material for which great value was claimed as a fertilizer. It was not licensed for sale in this state and no specimen for analysis had been sent to the college nor any application for a license. It was offered for sale at \$20 a ton wholesale, and \$22 at retail. A specimen was obtained from a dealer in Lansing and analyzed. It contained no combined nitrogen nor potash soluble in water, and only a small fraction of one per cent of insoluble phosphoric acid. It was made of powdered furnace slag and some common salt. The slag was the waste material found in abundance around furnaces where iron ore is smelted and is given away to anyone who will draw it off, having no commercial value. Estimating the value of this "farmers' favorite" by the three chemicals which give chief value to commercial fertilizers, it was worth 34 cents a ton, but was offered to our farmers for \$22 a ton. To expose so bare-faced a fraud I immediately wrote to the Detroit Free Press, stating the facts of the case over my own name.

My note was printed in the Free Press, was widely copied in other papers and the sale of the "farmers' favorite" suddenly ceased. In a few days the agents of the company called on me in my laboratory and demanded an immediate interview, a retraction of my published statement, with a threat of a suit for heavy damages, etc. I replied that I could not stop to talk with them at that hour, as my class in chemistry was just gathering to hear my lecture, but I would meet them in Lansing in the afternoon. On my way to this meeting I secured Richard Montgomery, Esq., as my counsel, and we met two gentlemen representing the company, two attorneys from Cleveland and S. L. Kilbourne, Esq., of Lansing.

A spicy conversation took place between us, which I need not reproduce in full, but the following statements of facts were brought out by the parties at issue:

"1. I stated that I had written the article printed in the Free Press and held myself responsible for the same; that believing the statements in that article are true, I had no retractions to make or apologies to offer.

"2. The other party claimed that I had by such publication inflicted great damage upon the company and heavy pecuniary loss; that up to the time of the publishing of that note they were selling large quantities of this fertilizer, but when that note appeared in the papers the sales stopped at once, and they have not been able to sell a pound since that time, demanding that I repudiate that note at once and give them a written statement that would set the 'farmers' favorite' right before the public and enable them to sell this fertilizer as before; that in case I refused they would begin a suit against me in the U. S. court for \$50,000 damages."

On my pointedly refusing to make such retraction or give a written statement such as they demanded, the other party with some heat replied, "Do you realize that before you published your statement about this fertilizer we were selling it rapidly in this state for \$20 a ton at wholesale; that after your statement appeared in the papers the sales fell flat; that we now have in this state 1,800 tons of this fertilizer which we cannot sell, inflicting on us a pecuniary loss of \$36,000?" "If I have saved the farmers of Michigan \$36,000 in cool cash I am glad of it," I said. Lawyer Kilbourne interposed, "Doctor, you have made your statements very strong and emphatic, couldn't you modify or change them in some respect so that my clients can dispose of the stock they now have in the state, saving them from heavy loss and

yourself from all trouble and litigation?" "No, sir," I said; "I have simply stated the facts as I find them. If the company can show me that the analysis is wrong or I have misstated anything in connection with this fertilizer I am willing to undo a wrong, but till I am thus convinced I stand by my note." They replied, "Then we shall at once return to Cleveland to make arrangements for the costs of the suit, and when that is done we shall return and at once begin a suit against you in the United States court for \$50,000 damages." "Well, you will find me at the college," I replied.

And that was the end of it.

A year after I called on Mr. Wilcox of Jackson, with whom some of the stuff had been left on sale, and inquired if he had sold any. "No call for it." A year later Mr. Wilcox told me that the company had directed him to empty the stuff into the street and keep the bags as pay for storage and trouble.

### III.—BEET SUGAR.

The hope of securing an abundant domestic supply of sugar for the people of our state has long been cherished at the agricultural college. Why this country should, year by year, send abroad \$100,000,000 in gold to pay for a crop that can be successfully raised on our own soil and manufactured by our own people has never been satisfactorily answered. There is no more necessity for us to import sugar than to send abroad for flour. The old superstition that true sugar can come only from sugar cane is fast dying out among intelligent people, especially when it is considered that sixty-two per cent of the world's supply of sugar is derived from sugar beets. When we remember how largely our table comforts circle around the sugar bowl and that on the average one-half of the family grocery bill is for sugar, and that the Americans eat more sugar than any of the tribes of men, we begin to measure the size of the national sugar bowl and estimate the cost of its contents. Viewed from an agricultural standpoint the sugar crop is of the greatest importance to farmers for several reasons:

1. It is a cash crop and brings money directly upon the farm and is not controlled by stock-gambling fluctuations in New York and Chicago. The increase of \$10 per acre in the price of farm lands in the vicinity of the sugar factory is very significant.

2. It diversifies industry and prevents soil exhaustion if properly managed.

3. Sugar makes no permanent withdrawal of elements of fertility from the soil, no potash, no phosphoric acid, nor combined nitrogen;

it consists solely of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen, a pure carbohydrate, simply condensed and crystallized wind, water and sunshine. The exhausting materials are retained in the by-products—the leaves, crown and beet pulp. If these are finally restored to the soil, the exhaustion of the soil is prevented. No amount of pure sugar gathered from a field can lessen its producing capacity.

4. It promotes stock growing and grain raising. The introduction of the beet sugar industry in France has raised the average wheat crop from 17 bushels to 28 bushels per acre, and increased the production of fat cattle fifty per cent. The best preparation for a crop of wheat in France and Germany is to raise a crop of sugar beets the year before, with its clean culture and thorough tillage.

With such considerations bearing on the agricultural side of the sugar problem, it is not remarkable that the agricultural college early took a lively interest in the sugar question.

#### SEARCH FOR SWEETNESS.

More than twenty years ago the college gave attention to this subject by investigations and experiments upon the plant that then seemed to promise the best results, viz.: the variety of sorghum known as Amber cane. More than 400 pounds of seed were bought and distributed among farmers with instructions for planting and cultivating. Experiments were made on the college farm in raising sorghum and attempting the manufacture of sugar, but with poor success. In 1881 the legislature passed "an act to encourage the manufacture of sugar from sorghum," exempting from taxation for five years the apparatus used in making sugar, and offering a bounty of two dollars for every hundred pounds of sugar made from sorghum. Daniel Root of Hudson made more than ten tons of sorghum sugar and received \$404 as bounty under this law, but it was found that sorghum as grown in our state was not profitable for making sugar, because the proportion of glucose and sucrose was too large to permit of profitable manufacture of crystallized sugar.

Failing to secure the desired results with sorghum, attention was then turned to sugar beets as a more promising material. In 1890 the college imported more than 1,700 pounds of seeds of sugar beets from France by the hand of J. M. Thorburn & Co. of New York. This importation included seeds of the four most highly prized sugar beets raised in Europe. These seeds were given out to farmers in all parts of the lower peninsula, with directions for planting, cultivating and harvesting the beets, and asking samples of the beets for analysis.

Four hundred farmers received the beet seed and two hundred and twenty-eight reported results and sent beets for analysis. These reports came from thirty-nine counties.

In this investigation there were three questions to be settled preliminary to any discussion about establishing the beet sugar industry in Michigan. If any one of these is answered negatively or inconclusively, the whole scheme must be abandoned. If all are answered affirmatively and with emphasis, then there is an open door for this industry in our state.

1. Are the soil and climate of Michigan fitted for raising sugar beets? The analysis of thirty-eight specimens of soil from all parts of the state, and the meteorological observations at the college for twenty-seven years, seemed to answer this question in advance; but the results brought out under the second question set this inquiry at rest.

2. Can the farmer raise sugar beets at a profit—a profit equal to or exceeding the average selling price of his other crops? The answer is strongly affirmative. The value of a ton of sugar beets containing twelve per cent of sugar is \$4.50, with an increase of 33 cents for each per cent of sugar above twelve. The average yield per acre was thirteen tons and the average sugar in the beets was 13.50 per cent, and the average value of such beets equals \$65 per acre.

3. Are the quantity of sugar in the beets and the purity of the juice so high that the manufacturer would be warranted in putting up a costly factory and making beet sugar? Sugar can be made with profit from twelve per cent beets; with richer beets and a purity of juice above eighty degrees the profit is still greater.

The college has thus answered with affirmative emphasis the three fundamental questions relating to the beet sugar industry, and by bulletins 71 and 82, issued in 1891, pointed out the open door of Michigan as the great beet sugar state of the north.

Having thus planted the seed, we waited for it to germinate and spring up in sugar factories in our state when the necessary capital and the captains of industry should appear to crown it with success.

However, matters remained quiet (germinating?) for some five years, but early in 1897 interest revived and was greatly promoted by the act, approved March 26, 1897, offering a bounty of one cent a pound on beet sugar. The effective coöperation of Hon. James Wilson, secretary of agriculture, in furnishing a large amount of seed of the best varieties of sugar beets for experimental purposes, and assisting in other ways, greatly contributed to the success of experiments in our state and in

awakening public interest on this subject. A few wide awake citizens, alert to secure industries and to develop conditions which would build up their own cities, as well as benefit the state, entered with zeal upon the development of this new industry. Foremost among these were Higgins & Lenders of Saginaw, who secured a larger number of experimental plots of sugar beets to determine the suitableness of conditions in Saginaw and vicinity for producing sugar beets of the right quality for making sugar. In the fall of 1897 they sent to the college for analysis specimens of sugar beets from 138 separate plots. The results of analysis showed the sugar beets grown in that vicinity to be so rich in sugar and the juice of such purity as to demonstrate the eminent fitness of the soil and climate of the Saginaw valley for the beet sugar industry. The zeal and energy of these gentlemen created so much enthusiasm in Saginaw that it seemed to have flown down Saginaw river and to have fired the citizens of Bay City to such a degree that three beet sugar factories were erected and have been in successful operation; the enthusiasm was contagious.

The liberal supply of beet seed furnished by the department of agriculture and assistance in distributing the seed to the farmers gave opportunity for a large amount and widely extended experimenting in 1897 and years following. Thus 493 specimens of beets were received and analyzed in 1897, coming from sixty-four counties, showing a very wide area of our state fitted for growing sugar beets of high quality.

The experimental work for 1897 and later was under the supervision of Prof. C. D. Smith, director of the experiment station. The results of the extensive experiment work of 1897 were given to the public in the Sugar Beet Bulletin, No. 150, of which a large number of copies were distributed to the public. This bulletin was prepared by Prof. Smith and Dr. Kedzie. It gave not only full reports of the results of the experiments, but a large amount of information on the subject, a map showing the distribution of sugar beets by counties, and a full text of the sugar bounty law. It became a sort of text book on sugar beets for the state.

It is not claimed that the agricultural college has created the beet sugar industry in Michigan, but the preliminary work which laid the foundation for this industry—the development of the basic facts which justified the erection of costly factories and the investment of a large amount of capital in a new enterprise—was the work of the agricultural college. “We laid the foundations and others builded thereon.”



## SOUVENIRS OF WILLIAM KEDZIE,

BORN IN SCOTLAND 1781, DIED IN MICHIGAN 1828, PRIVATELY PRINTED AND  
DEDICATED TO HIS DESCENDANTS BY HIS SON, ROBERT CLARK  
KEDZIE, AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, FEBRUARY, 1899.

## WESTWARD!

When my father thought of taking his young family to the faraway west in search of more fertile lands and propitious climate than could be found among the rocky hills of Delaware county, he sought advice and counsel from his old friend Dr. Robert Clark, register of the land office in Monroe county, territory of Michigan, making careful inquiry about the soil, productions and climate, opportunities for schools, church privileges, etc. Of these letters of inquiry written to Dr. Clark before he moved to the new west three were preserved by Dr. Clark, and brother James was so fortunate as to obtain possession of them, and they now lie before me, and are here printed as precious souvenirs of one who so soon left his newly founded home for that other "house not made by hands." They are given without change or comment, revealing the man and giving many side-lights of social conditions prevailing three-quarters of a century ago.

The letters were written on foolscap paper, folded, without envelope, and sealed with a wafer. The postage on each was twenty-five cents, and not prepaid.

## FIRST LETTER.

Delhi, 18th October, 1823.

My Dear Friend.—According to my promise to Mrs. Clark I was to write to you without waiting to receive a letter from you, and as I feel extremely anxious to hear from you, I think it will be the surest way to have my desire gratified thus to put you in mind of your promise. As you have had an opportunity so lately of hearing from the Delaware (I hope) by your own family, there is little which I can now write that will be news to you.

Your acquaintances here generally, so far as I know, are in their ordinary health. There has been no deaths among them since Mrs. Clark went away except Capt. Wm. Newland, of Meredith, who died of a pleurisy in two days' sickness, old Mrs. Wetmore, old Mrs. Thos. McLaughrey, and a son of John Dales. My own family are well. Margaret's health is much better now than it was during the summer.

Margaret Jones' constitution appears to be giving way. Poor W. Graham seems to have one trouble on the back of another. You have had a full account of his trouble about John, and I and my wife are this night watching with his youngest son Adam who is lying very low. He got a small cut on the knee with an axe near two months ago. It produced no alarm for some weeks. Dr. Halsey was called about a month ago. The joint water had all discharged and the fungus had risen up nearly an inch. He ordered the poultices removed, applied caustic and dry lint to the wound and a bandage to the thigh, and expressed fears that he would lose his leg. On a second visit he cut away the fungus and continued the same application, but without any good effect. The leg was taken off yesterday about four inches from his body. I hope I may never witness such another scene. On examination the ligaments of the joint were completely destroyed, and the thigh to within half an inch of where it was cut off full of corruption. He has left his student to attend it till he returns to dress it on the fifth day. The young man says he is as well as could be expected. The boy is about five years old.

Mrs. Storie has had her trial and been acquitted. Mr. Dean was foreman of the jury. Mr. John Wilson of Harpersfield and Mr. David Blakesley were also on the jury. Spencer and Decker, counsel for the people, and Root and Sherwood for the prisoner. The jury intended to serve had been selected by the prisoner and her counsel previous to the sitting of the court. Almost the whole jury belonging to the court were drawn before the twelve were accepted of, and generally the ablest jurors were ordered to stand aside. When she understood that Dean was a juror, she sent for him and had a long interview in the prison a few days before court. Doctors Fitch and Steele, together with the other witnesses who had testified before the coroner, were called in behalf of the people; Wadby in behalf of the prisoner. Fitch's evidence was much the strongest against the prisoner. I think his examination might have lasted two hours. Root in his cross-examination did not attack him at all with regard to his knowledge in the science of surgery, but he handled poor Steele most unmercifully. He observed to the court that we had to submit to the doctor's killing people, but not with a rope. Wadby swore that every appearance of the child might be accounted for although it had been dead born. Fitch testified that he had sworn differently before the coroner's inquest. Wadby was also very severely handled by Decker with regard to his being a doctor at all. He acknowledged that he had no license to practice in England, nor did he know that the law required it.

Sherwood, in summing up, admitted her to be guilty of everything but murder. The charge of the judge was pretty strong in her favor. She sat and heard the whole with about as little apparent emotion as any other spectator. The moment the verdict was pronounced she arose and left the court room without giving the judge an opportunity of addressing her. The trial appears to have rather strengthened the suspicion of her guilt on the mind of the public.

Our summer has been remarkably short this season; we had frost as late as the 10th of June hard enough to kill the corn and potatoes that had come up, and on the 21st of September the frost was so hard as to make ice of considerable thickness, which continued for a week, and on the twenty-ninth we had snow which covered the ground till next day. At that time the frost was hard enough to freeze the apples on the trees quite thoroughly. The weather generally since that time has been remarkably frosty. The crops of corn have been very much injured. The times for farmers appear to grow rather worse than better. The price of rye in Delhi is only 37½ cents per bushel, paid in goods; tea is risen to seven shillings; good two-year old steers sell for seven dollars, other cattle in proportion. The prospect for butter is said to be very discouraging; cheese is selling as low as five cents in our neighborhood.

Martin Leet has given up all his real estate in Stamford to Haight in Catskill to satisfy his demands against him. He and Mrs. Leet have been viewing John D. Ferguson's stand with a view of purchasing it. Mr. Wiard went to Cincinnati to bring Mr. Ferguson to Delhi for trial, but he had escaped from prison before Wiard got there. He has written back several letters since that time by which it appears that he is now in Indiana territory. His wife has been working out doors for bread for her family this harvest.

I saw a letter a few days ago from John Graham who continues teaching his school in the town of Romulus. He earnestly solicits permission from his parents to go and see the Michigan before he returns home, as he is only 116 miles from Buffalo, with particular directions how to find you out. Graham wrote to him the situation of the family and left him at his option. I think the probability is that he will come directly home. Mr. Sandburn who was one of Mr. Ferguson's real indorsers at the bank has taken the benefit of the act. Your old neighbor A. B. Webb met with a considerable loss last week. He had purchased the stand of Merwin some time since (they say) for \$2,500, and through the carelessness of his little boy the sheds and stabling together with Lewis

Merwin's house were all burned by fire; two horses were burned to death and several others injured.

Mrs. McLaughry had not been dead a month when old Uncle Thomas was in quest of another wife. His first attempt was upon a young girl of 18 or 20 years of age, living with James Rich, and who had formerly been his servant girl. He offered to make her mistress of his house during his life, and of \$3,000 at his decease. They say he has offered \$2,000 to any decent young woman that may choose to accept him. Now or never, Uncle Thomas! I have just heard it reported that James Wetmore has purchased Joseph Tidde's right and title to old Aunt Hannah and all her property for \$600. Women appear to be the best article in market. If you're getting tired, just stop here and light your pipe.

Dear Sir—If you have not written to me before this reaches you, I hope you will take the first favorable opportunity, and as your acquaintance with the country must be greatly improved since I last saw you, I hope you will be particular in giving me all the information that you think will be interesting to me. Be particular with respect to your own situation; how you keep your health, whether you continue to like the country and how the rest of the family likes it, how you like your new employment, and whether you practice physic, whether you have made a permanent settlement, where it is, and of what kind, and in short whether you feel yourself at home; also with respect to the country in general, particularly the climate that I may know how far your season has tallied with ours; with respect to the soil and its productions, with respect to the general health of the country, wages, prices, plenty or scarcity of money, etc., also with respect to the present state of the settlement on River Raisin, whether the chance for settling is any better now than it is likely to be some years hence. But above all let me know what prospect there is of having the ordinances of the gospel dispensed. O, my friend, however far the Michigan surpasses the cold mountains of Delaware, yet the curse rests on both, and if they are our only portion 'tis but a portion of misery. How soon will the dimensions of our body be the bounds of our estate, and then what matters it whether our ashes repose in the rich and fertile mold of Michigan, or in the more penurious soil of Delaware! I think the world is the christian's greatest external enemy, and to guard against its undue influence is more than mere man is capable of. Should we not then look to Him for direction who leads the blind in a way that they know not and in paths that they have not known.

With respect to my ever seeing the Michigan, I can say nothing at

present. I have ever had a warm side to it, but that God who points out the bounds of our habitation does not seem to open the way for it at present, and we believe he is no less kind when he makes void our foolish purposes than when he crowns them with abundant success. May you and I be guarded by him in all our pilgrimage, so that if we meet no more in this world, our meeting may be a joyful one in His glorious presence. Amen.

Dear sir, give mine and Margaret's love to all and singular your whole family, for there is no other inquiring friend.

Yours affectionately,  
WILLIAM KEDZIE.

#### SECOND LETTER.

Delhi, 5th February, 1824.

My Dear Friend.—Your letters of 2d September and 5th December have both been received, and with a high degree of pleasure. They were indeed "Good news from a far country." How thankful ought we to be to an indulgent Providence who has put it in our power to converse with those whom we love and esteem, though placed in far distant parts of the world, and were it not for that long and solemn pause that ensues between the address on the one part and the response on the other, what happiness would result from this artificial converse.

In your first letter you gave us a very animated picture of your newly adopted territory. I think you may almost say with the Psalmist in a literal sense of the words that "the lines have fallen to you in pleasant places." Yet, my friend, we believe that your country, though called new, must have existed anterior to those transactions recorded in the third chapter of Genesis; and, if so, that sentence, "cursed is the ground," must have reached even to Michigan. From our own observations, however, we must allow that the marks of the curse do not appear in characters equally legible in all parts of the earth; here, perhaps, we see "thistles growing instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley," and there the corn so loaded with prosperous fruit as to shake like the trees in Lebanon.

I rejoice to hear of the safe arrival and good health of your family. Good health and a thankful and contented disposition of mind are the very cream of temporal blessings. In your last letter you answered my numerous questions much to my satisfaction. I was happy to learn that you enjoy opportunities of social worship. I hope you will

continue diligently to improve what means you enjoy. And may you not soothe your present privations with the sweet anticipation of that time when "waters shall break out and streams in the desert, when the thirsty land shall become a pool and the parched ground springs of water, when the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose, yea blossom abundantly and rejoice even with joy and singing."

I attended the annual meeting of our Bible society yesterday in the court house. Mr. Waterberry delivered an excellent sermon from these words in Zech. "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord." Mr. Munson supplied your place with great applause. On motion of Mr. Sherwood it was resolved that the address be published at full length. The meeting was very full. Mr. Maxwell is appointed to preach next meeting, and young Sears is substitute; Decker to deliver address and Hathaway his substitute.

The winter with us has been rather of an unsocial cast. We have had no sleighing since about Christmas. We have had very frequent rain-storms during the month of January, and the frost pretty moderate, the ground almost bare at present, but the frost has been very severe for about a week past. There is considerable apprehension about scarcity of fodder, although grain of every kind continues at the low prices I formerly mentioned.

I think I mentioned to you the burning of Webb's building at the corners. Shortly after that the barn of Moses Lyon with all its contents was consumed, and shortly after the barn of Henry Lyon with its contents. Strong suspicions are entertained that the fire was commenced by design. Peter Simmons is the person suspected; he is now in close confinement in Delhi.

We had a circuit court in December, when five convicts were sent to the state prison, four for theft, for a limited time, one by the name of Locker from Elk Creek for rape on his own daughter under ten years of age. His sentence was six months in solitary confinement, and hard labor during the remainder of his life.

\* \* \* \* \*

John Graham continues teaching in the same school as formerly at \$11 per month. Adam Graham has perfectly recovered. My own family are all well, and so far as I know your acquaintances generally are well.

A disorder has lately made its appearance in this part of the country. I think it is technically called "migration mania," and vulgarly "Michigan fever." Its contagious nature may be inferred from its having

been brought into the country in a letter said to have come from that territory, and which was published in our Delhi papers last fall. It is observed that cold weather is bad for it, and upon this principle it is hoped that warmer weather and freer exercise will tend to remove it. Whether this will be the case or whether numbers will be carried off by it remains uncertain. Among the sick are Thos. Shiland, R. Hume, Jr., John Hume, D. Thompson, James Kedzie, W. Graham, George Kedzie, your humble servant, etc.

Dear sir, all jesting aside, I have determined (tho' in direct violation of the caution you gave me in your last letter) to visit Michigan next spring if God permit. John Hume, Robert Hume, Jr., David Thompson and James Kedzie profess the same intention. They have made me their medium of communication with you, and I solicit information on the following points, viz.: whether they can purchase what land they please and have it secured to them by sending the purchase money after their return home, or rather not 'till next fall; what time of the season would you advise them to make their tour, particularly how it would affect their chance of advantageous settlement; what money is current in your office; whether you have any particular place in your eye for making such a settlement, and whatever other information you may deem proper.

They have not made their intention public, and to prevent unnecessary talking wish to keep it private until they are ready to start. With regard to myself I cannot say much as respects the time of my coming. I would probably be regulated in some measure by the information solicited above. With regard to removing my family to Michigan, it is a matter of great uncertainty, even if I like the country. The great obstacle is the difficulty of disposing of my property, of which you know something experimentally. We have sold the old homestead to Abel Squire for \$1,050 which places me a little more at liberty than formerly. I think if I had seen the country I could tell better what sacrifices it would be prudent to make to dispose of my property. At present I think it would suit my arrangements best to start pretty early in the spring. I would probably, however, forego my own convenience for the sake of going in company with the others, the more to insure a union of operation which would undoubtedly tend to the mutual comfort of all of us.

Now, my dear sir, you will perceive from the nature of this scrawl the necessity of answering it immediately upon the receipt of it, as our projected journey will be governed in a good measure by your answer.

Mrs. Kedzie and myself desire to be remembered affectionately to every member of your family.

Dear friend, farewell.

From yours, with highest esteem,

WILLIAM KEDZIE.

An indorsement on the back of this letter shows that it was received March 5, 1824.

### THIRD LETTER.

Delhi, October 27, 1825.

My Dear Friend.—I have the happiness to receive yours of the 17th of July on the 25th of August, accompanied with a Michigan Sentinel. It was indeed fraught with good news from a far country. I rejoiced to hear of the health and prosperity of yourself and family. It is pleasant to contemplate the goodness of God, whether exercised towards ourselves or those whom we love and esteem. Good health may be considered the basis of every temporal blessing; it is sweet in itself and sweetens every other comfort. But when it is viewed as the gift of our Heavenly Father it is doubly sweet. Our bodies are radically the seat and center of all manner of disease, and were it not for the divine restraint, they would rush upon us at once and tear us limb from limb. Our very existence is a standing monument of divine power, and our comfortable existence of divine goodness.

We are all in good health at present, and have been so during the summer. All our friends are also in comfortable health. The season has been healthy tho' remarkably warm and dry. From about the middle of July till the present time we have had but one soaking rain, which was about the beginning of September, and today it rains powerfully. Crops of hay are abundant and got in excellent order. Other crops are tolerable, but the pasture suffered very much. The price of grain is low. Genesee wheat was selling at Caledonia last week at five shillings. Butter is doing better this fall than for some years past. Some of the Kortright people have returned from New York who got eighteen cents for their dairy and twenty-one cents for fresh butter, quite reviving for our Delaware dairy men.

Rev. Wm. McAuley was thrown from his wagon six or eight weeks ago and dislocated his thigh. He is in a way of recovery. At the dispensation of the sacrament in Stamford he performed the service of one table, supported by his crutches. James Gavin was dangerously hurt



by the falling of a tree about two months ago; he has recovered in some degree.

There have been some shocking instances of voluntary death in this place of late. Joshua Every, having admitted a poor family on his premises who had become chargeable to the town of Kortright, was prosecuted by overseers of the poor for the sum of \$30, and which he had sworn he never would pay. This was all the cause of discontent that was known. On the 9th of September he was found suspended by a rope and dead in an old house. On Monday the 12th Edward Flint returned from Delhi in a state of partial intoxication, and finding his father-in-law, Captain Dibble and his lady at his house, refused going in to tea. Immediately after tea he was missing; supposing he had returned to the village a messenger was sent in search of him. He was found next morning by his wife in an old house upon the farm distant from his dwelling half a mile in the same situation with Every. Peter Drummond, who for some years has indulged a habit of intemperance, and of late in a very high degree, so as to threaten the lives of his family, on the morning of 17th of September attempted to take away his life by hanging himself, but was detected. He appeared to be in a state of despair, declaring his situation more insupportable than the state of the damned. He told his wife that he was tempted to take away her life also, and advised her not to be alone with him. About noon he went out to the barn, was immediately followed by his son who found him extended on the floor a lifeless corpse, his throat being cut quite to the bone by a razor. The inquest was on Sabbath; he was then put into a coffin with all his clothes on, his hat under his head and the razor between his feet, and buried in an adjoining field. Who can but drop a tear over poor human nature? But let us drop the melancholy subject.

Dear Sir—Divine Providence seems now to open the door for my removing to Michigan. I sold my farm a few days since to Matthias Fisher of Delhi, G. H. Edgerton having purchased of him, and am now making preparations to remove with my family to the banks of the Raisin. I am well aware that it is taking a very important step in life, but I hope it has been determined on with some degree of submission to the will of Him who points out the bounds of our habitation. It is impossible to estimate the consequences which this change may produce in things spiritual and temporal, not only to ourselves but to those committed to our charge. But this we know, that all our concerns are in the hands of Him who knows the end from the beginning and who leads the blind in ways that they know not, and in paths that they have not known.

We intend to set out as soon as the navigation of the canal is open in the spring, and will probably not reach the end of our journey before the 15th or 20th of May. I have had thoughts of trying to hire an improved farm in your neighborhood for a year, but have pretty much given up the idea as the spring will be too far advanced. I have a likely span of colts which will be three years old next spring, worth \$120, which I would be glad to take with me, as I fancy them more than your breed of horses, but am afraid it would be imprudent. I am at a loss to know what things it would be proper to bring with me, both as it regards household goods and farming utensils. In your next I would be glad to have your opinion on these things, also with respect to the taxes and expense of surveys on lands, as those who purchase with me would wish to remit the money by me.

Upon giving up the idea of hiring a farm I have had thoughts of procuring a situation for the family convenient to school, perhaps somewhere in Stamford, and leaving them till fall, till I could prepare a place of accommodation, but I am far from being resolved on this project. Give me your opinion on this, as you know the comparative expense of a family in both places; also whether it would not be best to purchase a year's provision at Buffalo or somewhere in the state of New York, and bring it with me.

I can say nothing at present respecting any of my friends coming to Michigan. James I think would come if he could sell. Mabie is about giving up the farm and hiring a house somewhere on the river, and living by his trade. What encouragement is there for a carpenter with you? Graham is about quitting the farm also. He has lately been out as far as Caledonia trying to hire a farm, but has not succeeded. Hume I think will never leave Stamford. Smith appears to be very anxious to come. Gammil gave an unfavorable account of the country. He has bought the Drummond place.

Dear sir, I hope you will write me immediately on the receipt of this.

Mine and Margaret's love to all the family. Wishing you peace and divine direction, I have the pleasure to subscribe myself.

Dear sir, yours affectionately,

WILLIAM KEDZIE.

Received November 30, 1825.

The following letter written on August 5, 1898, by my only remaining brother, gives such a vivid picture of the final sickness and death of my father that it is inserted among the souvenirs of the honored dead.

Grand Haven, Mich., August 5, 1898.

My Dear and Only Living Brother Robert.—Just seventy years ago this forenoon our father died. You then were only five and a half years old and probably have only slight recollections of the particulars of family history then current. So, I thought it might not be out of place for me to recall and set before you my recollections of what was then so great, as well as sad, event in our family history; especially as you and I alone remain "the last of what was once a family."

If you do not recollect, you at least know, that our parents in the autumn of 1826 settled upon our then new—later our old—homestead farm, at that time covered with a dense forest, save room enough for the erection of a log house. In the spring of 1827 we had cleared away the woods so as to have room for a garden and ten acres for corn, every acre yielding an abundant growth of garden produce or corn.

In 1828 we had a larger acreage and a greater variety of crops, including four acres of wheat. This was ready for harvesting in the latter days of July. This harvesting was done with a sickle. Not till years later was a cradle used on our farm. The reaping of those four acres of wheat was done by our father, his older boys gathering the gavel, binding and shocking the sheaves.

On Tuesday, July 29th, this wheat harvest was finished and the last load was drawn under the roof of our unenclosed frame barn. Our father complaining of illness went to the house, leaving his older boys to unload the wheat. Before we had completed the work, we heard a fearful scream from our mother, and rushed to the house, where we found father sitting in a chair out o' doors, very pale and semi-unconscious, while mother was bathing his face with camphor and fanning him, in which we assisted her.

After a while he revived and was helped to bed, and James, astride of "Old Gray," was sent to Monroe for Dr. Clark, father's long-time and most intimate friend, through whose influence our family removed to Michigan. The names of father's four brothers having been assigned to his four older sons, a name for you, the fifth and last son, was found in this his intimate friend. James' ride for the first five miles was without sight of a house, and after passing the "settlement" at Petersburg there were ten miles more without a house.

Before noon the next day Dr. Clark came, welcomed as though he was known to be a savior, and with a like sense of relief to our neighbors, who were constant in their kind services.

I have no positive and definite knowledge of Dr. Clark's method of medication. Yet as father's disease was known to be a bilious fever, I suppose his course of treatment was the same that our family and neighbors, subsequently ill of the same disease, underwent, the administration of physic or an emetic, followed by heavy and persistent doses of Peruvian bark mixed in whisky. I never knew father to have been sick but once before in Delhi, when blood-letting was resorted to until he fainted. I was deeply impressed by witnessing the event at the time, and may now have the events of the two sicknesses confounded in my memory; nevertheless, I have the impression that when Dr. Clark came his first resort was to phlebotomy.

Care of stock and "chores" about the house were all the work attempted during father's illness, both because no farm work suffered for care in those after-harvest days and because every thought and feeling were occupied with the fears father's sickness awakened. I remember well a consultation James, William and I had, sitting on a log in the lane, seeking reasons against our fears in the large, urgent and attractive work that laid before him as a farmer.

To divert my mind from my fears I read a volume entitled "Lawson on Ruth," by a Scotch divine, from whom our cousin George L. Kedzie of Yellow Springs was named. In one of those days of doubt and anxiety Dr. Clark went out into the woods, returning two hours later with long pieces of basswood bark stripped from a sapling. He made no use of the bark, and, I presume, he got it, finding in such work a temporary relief from the strain of his overburdened anxiety.

Every day our fears of the issue increased; same with our neighbors. One night we, the children, were terribly frightened out of sleep by the fearful noise of father's hiccough. The stupor of his disease had so strong a hold upon him that he seldom said anything, except to answer questions, and even then strong efforts were required to awaken him. At one time, however, after mother had given him some nourishment, as he sat up in bed, before lying down, he put his arm around her neck, drew her face down and kissed her. This we construed as an expression of his convictions that he would not recover. Every day added to our gloom and every night confirmed our fears.

On Friday, August 1st, in the evening he was found to suffer from retention of urine, and by next day-break James was sent to Monroe for means of relief. Tired boy and tired horse returned the same night, a fifty miles' ride on a hard trotting horse in a hot day.

When the Sabbath, August 3d, came, for the first time since father

instituted public worship in the neighborhood, the services of such worship were omitted. So oppressive a fear of his death rested on the minds of all that no one felt like singing even one of the "Psalms of David in Rouse's authorized version." Indeed, before that Sabbath closed Dr. Clark took away the last lingering hope of the family and neighbors by telling us father could not recover. The fears against which we had fought, strengthened by our faith in the doctor, allowed us to sleep only by their benumbing power, afterwards embittering our waking.

All day Monday, August 4th, in a grief to which even death could scarce add intensity, we waited in submissive patience for death to finish his terrible and fore-doomed work.

On Tuesday morning about nine o'clock, while I was bringing in an armful of wood for the stove, Dr. Clark stepped to the door and said: "Stewart, come in and pay your last respects to your dying father." I felt that I would be guilty of disrespect to my father if I carried the wood into the house, so I laid it down in the door yard and took my place at the foot of the bed; the members of the family then present and a few neighbors weeping stood around the bed, while mother sat by the bedside holding her husband's hand and fanning him. He had been unconscious for a day and a night, and his short, stertorous breathing told that the end was nigh; and soon it came, reported simply by the hush of his breathing, by mother's long drawn sigh and sad words—"That is all."

After a brief and affecting prayer by Dr. Clark for those, the joy of whose lives seemed to have fled with father's departing soul, Dr. Clark put us all to a stir. The dissolution of father's body did not wait for his last breath, and the doctor said that burial must follow as speedily as possible. This was long before the day of ready made caskets. The nearest carpenter shop was at Petersburg. Thither one man was sent to announce father's death, give notice of the funeral the next forenoon and to get a coffin made. The same announcement of death and funeral was sent to Blissfield by a messenger.

Toward evening family worship was held out o' doors by daylight on the shady side of the house. Dr. Clark read the 103d Psalm, commenting on the 8th and 18th verses inclusive.

The malignancy of the disease was shown in the fact that father's stalwart and robust manhood, never weakened but once before by any disease, required only a week's illness to bring it to speedy dissolution. As soon as daylight dawned the next morning the men who watched with the corpse, vainly seeking in existing conditions to arrest decay, built

a bower of bushes in the front yard, into which they moved the body. In the early forenoon when the coffin came—made in the old style of seventy years ago, tapering bluntly to the head and slimly to the feet and painted black—the men who lifted the body into it held in their lips crushed leaves of tansy, dipped in whisky, to mitigate the odor.

To the funeral came every person in our neighborhood, also large numbers from Blissfield and Petersburg, coming mostly on our side of the river, some on the other, whom we ferried over in our large canoe.

The funeral services were conducted by Dr. Clark, there being no clergyman within timely reach. The services were impressive, no doubt, from the long and intimate friendship existing between Dr. Clark and father; but I was so benumbed by our great affliction that I only remember that he officiated—not what he said.

A sense of the indispensableness of crape at a funeral was more pervasive and persistent seventy years ago than now. So, just before the funeral procession was about to start, Mrs. Hart, our nearest neighbor five miles down the river, who had just arrived, and whose kindness of heart overmatched her culture of mind, drew out of her reticule a crumpled wad of brownish black crape, and, knowing that mother had no time to send to Monroe for a supply, asked her if she did not want some of it put on her bonnet. Of course it was then too late to avail herself of Mrs. Hart's misplaced and untimely generosity.

The coffin was carried to the nearby grave on a bier, made of two poles eight or ten feet long, with bark stripped off, connected by two short poles and supported by four legs. That bier was kept in use for years, and according to the custom of the times always kept watch by standing as a sentinel over the grave last filled.

At the grave Dr. Clark made a somewhat lengthy address, during which, as if to show that no condition of life was exempt from incongruities, a "yellow jacket" stung the ankle of Mrs. Richard Peters, causing an involuntary outcry and for a brief time disturbing the solemnity of the occasion.

Like many another boy, I had grown up under a superstitious dread of grave-yards, especially in the night time. But after father's burial so near our home, I felt attracted to the spot and often went there and sat by his grave for an hour or two in the evening. For years I had great comfort in dreaming of him. In my dreams he always seemed to have returned from a long journey; and whereas, previously everything on the farm and about the home went as his superior wisdom directed, on his dream-returns he always consulted his boys as to the management

of the farm, drawing out their opinions and comparing them with his own in a frank and friendly consultation—an ideal, even though an imaginary father.

Before Dr. Clark went home he wrote an account of father's sickness and death to his brother George Kedzie, then of Stamford, N. Y. Upon its receipt uncle George and his wife aunt Christie went down to his brother James' home, then in Delbi. Uncle James and his wife aunt Peggy, surprised at the visit, went out to meet them. Uncle George in his wonted but slow thoughtfulness intended to make a remark to prepare them for the sad news, but aunt Christie could not wait for any preface, so, before half way to their place of meeting, shaking her head from side to side, she in her Scotch brogue cried out: "Wullyum Keedzie is deed. Oh! Wullyum Keedzie is deed," and emphasized it with a prolonged wailing. After getting seated in the house, Dr. Clark's letter was read with a full discussion of particulars and ill-boding prophecies concerning the rest of the family—little dreaming that in that bewailed family was the main dependence of the Kedzie name for its perpetuation on this western continent.

The next number of the Delaware Gazette, a paper our father had taken for years, and which followed us to our new home, contained an obituary of father, written by his former pastor, Rev. Ebenezer Maxwell. I regret it was not preserved. All I can remember of it was the designation of the place of his death as "in that far away land toward the going down of the sun."

My only living and for many reasons very dear brother, Robert, I cannot close this already over-grown letter without expressing my—our rather—conviction that our mother was a very remarkable woman, as seen in the family history which she did so much to shape. Let the facts of that history testify.

Left with five sons and two daughters, from three to sixteen years of age; on a new farm in a far-away settlement; with more Indians than white people in the territory; dependent on hired men for much of the farm cultivation; unaccustomed to conducting family worship, yet, if omitting it, fearing she might fail of training her children in the right way as their father had started them; for such worship retaining her children till the hired men had gone to work, saving the privacy of their devotions from undue exposure; fearing her children might be called to follow their father, in those annual sicknesses of the family, often so severe that the well could not adequately care for the sick; working on through a widowhood whose years exceeded all the rest of

her life and working so hard that, as once she told me, her rough hands offended her womanly pride; yet by toil and management, keeping her family in comfort and respectability; so that before closing her eyes in death she saw all her children adult members of the church, her two daughters educated in the "ladies' course" of Oberlin college, two of her sons graduates of colleges and of their respective professional schools, her other sons provided with comfortable homes of their own and adequate livelihood—at least with such help in one case as one brother could provide for another brother, to the end of that brother's life and his widow's. Such was the mother whose sons in grateful pride laid her to rest in christian burial in her eighty-second year.

She was born on the 29th day of the month. If we are allowed to adopt the traditional usage of finding a birthday motto in the verses of the 31st chapter of Proverbs, we can say she justified her birthday motto. "Many daughters have done virtuously—have gained riches—but thou excellest them all."

May we ever be worthy of the ancestry in which we rejoice.

Your loving brother,

A. S. KEDZIE.

And now, Stewart has passed away! I was with him Friday, February 3d, read to him father's letters and talked over the plan of printing them with other souvenirs of the family, in all of which he took a deep interest, and I left him bright and cheerful, looking for many seasons of happiness. But the next day "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye he was changed," and was ushered into the great presence.

The following tribute to his memory, published in the Grand Haven Tribune, is from the pen of Rev. Dr. Wilkinson, and shows the estimation in which he was held among the clergy of his city:

#### A TRIBUTE.

In the death of the Rev. Mr. Kedzie we have lost one of our best known and respected citizens. During 11 years the writer has known Mr. Kedzie, and in that time learned not only to respect and admire, but also to love him, and consequently feels that this public testimonial of affection is his due. Mr. Kedzie had ever the welfare of our city at heart; and in season and out of season, by word and act, he endeavored to advance her interests. Of strong intellect, with positive, clear cut ideas of right and wrong, it is not strange that his ideas met with opposition; yet he was always fearlessly just in his argument. Mr. Kedzie's deep



religious feeling along with a bright cheerfulness attracted many of us. It was refreshing to meet with such a sturdy champion of the faith, one who could deal strong blows, and also be so tender and sympathetic. Mentally Mr. Kedzie possessed in large measure the strong characteristics of his New England and Scotch forbears, and ever delighted in intellectual discussions, ready to give, ready to take; often, indeed, becoming deeply metaphysical. At such times we agreed with him, feeling that we were beyond our depth! To the very last he kept up his interest in the topics of current thought, writing and speaking with his old time vigor. It was, indeed, a matter of wonder that a man of Mr. Kedzie's great age should keep up his mental vigor, and so constantly manifest strength and power, which we delight to find in younger men. Except in years, however, Mr. Kedzie was not an old man, and often put to shame some of his juniors. As a man, as a husband and father, as a scholar and citizen, we give to Mr. Kedzie highest praise and deeply mourn his loss.

J. E. W.

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## THE STORY OF EMANCIPATION.

Passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, with Sketches of Michigan Members of the Thirty-eighth Congress.

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

Three great fundamental acts in, by and for the United States of America, far reaching in their consequences, each encountering strong opposition, yet representing a marked advance in public sentiment favorable to human rights, established and regulated by law, stand out conspicuously on the pages of history—first, the adoption by the continental congress of our declaration of independence, which proclaimed the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that taxation without representation is unjust, and that the true basis of government is the consent of the governed; second, the adoption of the constitution of the United States, in convention, September 17, 1787, and its ratification by the states, which closed the chaotic and critical period of American history following the revolutionary war and made us a great nation; third, the passage by the thirty-eighth congress of the thirteenth amendment of the constitution, which abolished and forever thereafter prohibited slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States, and made the declaration of independence a fact in the fundamental law of the land.

As reading clerk of the national house of representatives for the

thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth and fortieth congresses, I had an opportunity to become familiar with the details of the work that led up to the passage of the thirteenth amendment, and because of my official position was personally cognizant of many facts in relation to that important and sharply contested event with which no other person now living is familiar; knew all of Michigan's members of congress at that time and saw the leading public men of the civil war period; and as some of these facts and details form a part of the hitherto unwritten history of that transitional time in our progress from human slavery to human freedom, a narrative of them, together with sketches of the members of congress from our state who participated in the passage of the amendment, cannot have a more appropriate and permanent place of preservation than in the collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The civil war, waged for the perpetuation of negro slavery, was not then ended. The battle-torn army of the Potomac, under Grant, was pressing on to the capture of Richmond and the surrender of Lee's heroic fighters at Appomattox; Sheridan, by his inspiring presence, had snatched victory from defeat in the valley of the Shenandoah; Thomas had won imperishable laurels at the battle of Nashville, crushing and scattering Hood's army with cyclonic vigor; Sherman's victorious soldiers had marched from the mountains to the sea, through the heart of the confederacy, were moving northward through the Carolinas to Virginia and tightening the anaconda folds that were squeezing the last remnants of life out of the pro-slavery rebellion. This culmination of great military movements was an appropriate time to settle the slavery question forever.

Slavery caused the war. Its abolition was the logical necessity and moral requirement of the situation. In the presidential campaign of 1860 the political controversy over slavery reached its climax. The "irrepressible conflict" shifted from the forum of debate to the field of battle for a final struggle. The Missouri compromise, which served its purpose for a generation in delaying an open contest by an appeal to arms between the ever antagonistic forces of freedom and slavery, had been repealed. Following this repeal came the Dred-Scott decision by the United States supreme court, which nationalized slave catching and intensified the irrepressible conflict. The enactment of the Missouri compromise in 1820 was a pro-slavery movement, and so was its repeal in 1854. The student of history cannot fail to discover that from 1820 to 1854 the triumphal march of the slave power had been uninterrupted. The latter year witnessed the commencement of the Kansas conflict, which resulted in the first victory over the crime-stained institution in

this country, and foreshadowed the end of slavery. In the heart of the continent the first victory was won. Peace between the antagonistic forces that met upon the plains of Kansas, in a fierce struggle for the mastery of a state, was impossible. As Lincoln said in the great debate with Douglas in 1858, the nation could not exist half slave and half free.

#### STEPS TOWARD EMANCIPATION.

Gradually the steps were taken that led finally to the emancipation of the slave population, and to the absolute inhibition of slavery throughout the national jurisdiction, by the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. But few of the public men of the civil war period saw the end from the beginning. At the outset, with remarkable unanimity, they disclaimed any desire or purpose to interfere with slavery, even in the rebellious states. From the start, however, Thaddeus Stevens, the great commoner, had the prescience to discern and the courage to proclaim the intimate relation of slavery and the rebellion. It was the relation of cause and effect. He saw clearly and stated plainly that the sure way to save the imperilled union was to abolish the cause of treason and war, but men were as much opposed to that course in 1861 as they are now to putting the golden rule into practice. Vested wrongs, with which men are familiar, if sanctioned by law, they are slow to interfere with. War to save the union, but not to abolish slavery, was the controlling idea. Public sentiment and official action moved slower than Mr. Stevens demanded, yet he did not hesitate to lead in the right path. He wanted emancipation and arming the freedmen at the outset. In 1861, at the extra session of congress, he offered a resolution "that the president be requested to declare free, and to direct all our generals to offer freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters," and "for compensation to all loyal citizens for losses under the resolution." He said that "the men of the south were as brave as those of the north, and their generals as intelligent, and that the slaves were valuable allies;" that "while the black man did not carry a gun, he was yet the mainstay of the rebellion;" and he denounced as untrue the charge against the blameless sons of Ethiopia that "they were inhuman and would arise and murder the helpless mothers and daughters of the south."

Nothing came of Mr. Stevens' resolution yet it stands on record as the initial move in favor of emancipation.

The next step, one that attracted wide attention, was taken, August 30, 1861, by Gen. John C. Fremont, in command of the military department of the west, which included the slave state of Missouri, when he issued a

military order that "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the state of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men." Fremont's proclamation of freedom was formally and officially revoked by President Lincoln September 11, 1861. Therein, for the first time, appears the idea of "military necessity," which Mr. Lincoln himself finally adopted.

Mr. Lincoln had his own plan for getting rid of slavery, but it was secondary to saving the union. The subject was discussed by him in his first annual message to congress, December 3, 1861. To quote his own words, he hoped and expected to effect an "increase of free states through the voluntary emancipation of the slaves by the action of the states themselves." He sought and found an opportunity to try his experiment. Delaware was a loyal state, and in November, 1861, President Lincoln caused to be presented his favorite plan for the gradual emancipation of all slaves within its jurisdiction by an act of its legislature, but so strong a hostility developed among the members, when the suggestion was informally made to them, that the bill was not even introduced. This initial movement in favor of gradual and voluntary emancipation was, like all subsequent efforts of a similar character, a total failure.

But the president kept on trying. March 6, 1862, he sent a special message to congress, recommending the adoption of a declaratory resolution, which announced the plan of gradual emancipation with compensation, as follows: "That the United States ought to co-operate with any state which may adopt the gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state in its discretion, to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system."

Still pursuing the same cherished policy, hoping that the people of the border slave states would see their true interests, on March 10, 1862, President Lincoln requested the members of congress from the loyal slave states of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, who were in Washington, to call at the white house in a body for the consideration and discussion of his plan of gradual emancipation and compensation; but, while they accepted the invitation, he received no encouragement from them.

Event followed event in swift succession. April 2, 1862, congress passed the joint resolution recommended by President Lincoln, as above

quoted, in his special message of March 6th, and thus both the executive and legislative branches of the government were formally committed to the policy of gradual emancipation by the states themselves; but none of the states paid the least attention to it. Even the lure of compensation failed.

Next came an act of congress, approved April 16, 1862, which provided for the immediate emancipation of all slaves in the District of Columbia, with compensation to owners, not to exceed an aggregate of \$300 for each slave, and an appropriation of \$100,000 to defray the cost of the voluntary emigration of the emancipated slaves to Hayti or Liberia. In a brief message accompanying the notice of his approval of the measure, the president said he was "gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both practically in the act." The slaves held in the District of Columbia were made free, compensation was given to their owners, the shame of seventy-two years of slavery in the national capital was removed; but colonization was a complete failure. The white people preferred slavery to emancipation with compensation; the black people, when free, preferred to stay with and among their former owners and masters than to leave the country and colonize in Liberia or Hayti.

No man was strong enough to control national destiny. May 9, 1862, Gen. David Hunter, in command of the department of the south, and a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, issued a military order of emancipation. After alluding to the fact that the states in his department were under martial law, Gen. Hunter declared that "Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three states—Georgia, Florida and South Carolina—heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." In a brief report to the war department, Gen. Hunter said: "My theory being that slavery, existing only by municipal enactments, ceased to exist the moment a subject by his rebellion placed himself beyond the pale of these enactments." May 19, 1862, Gen. Hunter's order was revoked by President Lincoln.

But both the executive and legislative departments of the government were moving towards emancipation. The movement seemed slow then; it seems swift now. In the present, time is reckoned by days and hours; in the past it takes on more the character of a series of events. A sweeping confiscation act, passed by congress and approved July 17, 1862, provided that all slaves held by persons guilty and convicted of treason and rebellion should be free. It also declared that the slaves owned by persons in rebellion, escaping into our army lines for refuge, slaves captured from rebels or deserted by them and coming under pro-

tection and control of the government of the United States, and slaves found in any place previously occupied by confederate forces and then occupied by the union army, should be deemed captives of war and should be forever free. Another act of congress freed all slaves actually employed in the military service on the side of the rebellion.

President Lincoln, still tenaciously adhering to the policy of compensated emancipation, on July 2, 1862, held another conference, at his own request, with members of congress from the border slave states, at which he made an urgent appeal to them to use their influence and persuade their respective states to adopt the plan of gradual emancipation, with compensation for their slaves, and so get rid of the institution without material financial loss. He thought that this policy, once adopted, would convince the people and leaders in the seceded states that in no event would the border states join the confederacy, and that this would be to them an element of weakness and discouragement. Persistency in this direction availed nothing. Gradual emancipation with promised compensation, though urged by Mr. Lincoln with the earnestness and sincerity of firm conviction, was impossible and he received no encouragement. July 14, 1862, the border state representatives and three senators made a written reply to the president's appeal. While pledging unchangeable loyalty to the Union, they set forth the reasons and obstacles to the adoption of his policy. Evidently the president saw the futility of further effort in that direction. He may have made up his mind that it would be a failure, as very soon after this conference and the reply he stepped up to the higher plane of emancipation in the seceded and rebellious states by presidential proclamation.

Congress adjourned July 17, 1862, three days after the reply of the border state senators and representatives was dated. Five days after the adjournment, on July 22, 1862, the president read to his cabinet his first draft of a preliminary proclamation of emancipation. He had prepared it of his own volition, showing the entire abandonment of his previous plan, without consulting with any member of his cabinet. It was his own act. It was read at the meeting held at the Executive Mansion on that day and then laid aside to await near-by future events, one of which was a hoped for and decisive victory by our soldiers.

The bloody battle of Antietam was fought September 16 and 17, 1862. During that summer the Confederate armies were boldly aggressive at Corinth, Mississippi, in Kentucky, and in Maryland. Each one of these campaigns terminated disastrously for them at about the same time—by Lee's withdrawal from Antietam, by Van Dorn's defeat at Corinth, by

Bragg's check at Perryville. Thereafter no offensive northern movement by any of the Confederate armies stood any chance of success. Only one more formidable invasion of the north was attempted, that of General Lee in the summer of 1863, which ended with the battle of Gettysburg.

What followed the early autumn battles of 1862? September 22 of that year the preliminary proclamation of emancipation was issued. From that date forward the war had two distinctly avowed purposes—the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Abolished in the seceded states, the institution would necessarily die in the border states. The essential clause of this proclamation declared: "That on the first day of January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

This warning was unheeded by the people of the states in rebellion. The eventful day, January 1, 1863, came; the armies were in winter quarters; there was no cessation of war preparation on the part of the south; it was not President Lincoln's habit to step backward; and so, on the date named, the edict of freedom—as the final Emancipation Proclamation has been aptly called—was issued. Its closing words present its necessity and justification: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

"It is done!  
Clang of bell and roar of gun  
Send the tidings up and down.  
How the belfries rock and reel!  
How the great guns, peal on peal,  
Fling the joy from town to town!

Blotted out!  
All within and all about  
Shall a fresher life begin;  
Freer breathe the universe  
As it rolls its heavy curse  
On the dark and buried sin!"

No! not yet buried. Two years must pass away for the burial ceremonies. Slavery's absolutely certain extinction required an amendment of the constitution. While the Emancipation Proclamation made the war an openly avowed anti-slavery contest, determining its character, it did not apply to Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, slave states that had been continuously represented in congress. Slavery

was not touched outside of the states that had formally seceded and had established hostile governments by joining the Southern Confederacy. Furthermore, doubts existed in the minds of eminent lawyers and publicists, notwithstanding the moral force of the proclamation, as to the constitutionality of this executive action. Judges and courts are uncertain, hence the necessity for an amendment of the constitution that would forever settle the question. Right is often entangled in the meshes of habit and law.

#### THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

In December, 1863, the thirty-eighth congress assembled. Vicksburg had fallen; Gettysburg had become one of the few decisive battles of destiny in the world's history; the army of the Potomac was in winter quarters in northern Virginia, and in a few weeks Grant was to be called from the west to take command. Peace with slavery was no longer regarded as possible or desirable. The proposal of prohibitory amendments to the constitution was a natural and inevitable outcome of the situation.

The first joint resolution proposing an amendment of the constitution that would abolish and prohibit slavery throughout the United States was introduced in the house of representatives December 14, 1863, by James F. Wilson, a representative from Iowa and chairman of the committee on the judiciary. On January 11, 1864, Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri presented a similar joint resolution in the senate. Nearly a month later Senator Sumner of Massachusetts offered an amendment which provided that "everywhere within the limits of the United States; and of each state or territory thereof, all persons are equal before the law, so that no person can hold another as a slave." On February 10, 1864, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, reported to the Senate a substitute for the Henderson and Sumner joint resolutions, which became the Thirteenth Amendment. It declared: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction;" and also gave to congress the power of enforcement by appropriate legislation.

Senator Sumner was very insistent that his phrase, "all persons are equal before the law," copied from the constitution of revolutionary France, should be included in the amendment; but Senator Jacob M. Howard of our state, who was a leading participant in framing and



defending the substitute as reported, pointed out the inapplicability of Mr. Sumner's words to the anti-slavery amendment, and successfully urged that it would be safer and wiser to follow, as the committee had done, the language of the Ordinance of 1787, with its historical associations and adjudicated meaning. It would be curious to know what, in the broadest sense, the application of Senator Sumner's words, "all persons are equal before the law," in a constitutional amendment might have been, provided they reached beyond the slavery question then under consideration.

The joint resolution, as reported by Senator Trumbull of the judiciary committee, passed the senate March 28, 1864—yeas 38, nays 6—and was sent to the house of representatives. It was debated in the house on three different days, May 31 and June 14 and 15. The first vote was taken on the thirty-first day of May, on a motion for the rejection of the joint resolution, when 55 voted in favor of the motion to 76 against it. Not much interest was taken in the debate as it was evident that the measure could not command the requisite two-thirds majority. When the roll call came on its passage the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 65; absent or not voting 23. Before the calling of the roll was completed and the result announced, Representative James M. Ashley of Ohio, who had charge of the measure, came to the clerk's desk, ascertained how the vote stood, returned to his seat, and changed from the affirmative to the negative so that he might under the rules enter a motion to reconsider, and thus retain control of the amendment. The motion was entered the next day.

#### THE FINAL EFFORT.

After this failure to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority in the House work in behalf of the Amendment commenced in earnest. The thirty-eighth congress met for its last session December 6, 1864. President Lincoln urged the passage of the joint resolution in his annual message. A systematic canvass in its favor was inaugurated, seeing to it that votes enough were assured to pass the Amendment, when again called up for action, was under the immediate charge of Hon. James S. Ashley of Toledo, Ohio, and Hon. Augustus Frank of Warsaw, New York. They planned and executed the campaign. Keeping their own counsel as to the progress made, never mentioning how this or that representative would vote, but summoning to their assistance such members on both sides of the house politically as they deemed best. It was a quiet and an effective canvass.

The plan adopted was this: Richard U. Shearman of Utica, New York,

was Tally Clerk and kept the record of all yea and nay votes. He was a brother of the late Francis W. Shearman of Marshall, Michigan, the last superintendent of public instruction in this state appointed by the governor, Epaphroditus Ransom of Kalamazoo, and the first one elected by the people. A tally sheet was kept at the clerk's desk in the house in a drawer, of which Mr. Shearman carried the key. When ascertained that a member who had voted against the amendment at the previous session would certainly vote for it on the next roll call, either Mr. Ashley or Mr. Frank would come to the desk, state the fact to Mr. Shearman or myself, when Mr. Shearman would unlock the drawer, take out the precious tally sheet and place a yea check against the name. Quietly this work went on for several weeks. Probably Mr. Ashley, Mr. Frank, Mr. Shearman and myself were the only persons who ever saw that tally sheet. Had any one not in the secret got hold of it what it meant would have been unknown.

In all of this work nothing was taken for granted. Guessing was entirely eliminated. Where necessary, precaution was taken to make assurance doubly sure, and not one of the four persons in the secret whispered an intimation of the progress or prospects of the canvass. One day Mr. Ashley came to the desk and reported that Alexander H. Coffroth of the Gettysburg district, Pennsylvania, would vote for the amendment—he was recorded against it at the previous session—and then remarked “There, we’ve got enough.” At the first opportunity when by ourselves, Mr. Shearman and I looked over the tally sheet carefully and ascertained that if all the members voted as checked he was right. The result proved that Mr. Ashley was correct. Every vote was given as indicated. It was a notable instance of careful and painstaking effort.

#### PRELIMINARY TO VOTING.

Previously, December 15, 1864, Mr. Ashley had given notice that on the sixth of January, 1865, he would call up the motion to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority at the previous session. When that day arrived he was recognized by Speaker Colfax, and he re-opened the debate with an earnest speech. Ashley was a man of fine appearance, self-reliant, endowed with indomitable energy, a tireless and tactful worker. On the floor he always attracted attention. The discussion, or rather the set speeches, continued, off and on, until January 31, 1865, the day that had been formally announced for taking the vote. It was deemed desirable to pass the amendment as early as possible, so that the legislatures of the several states, then in session, might act upon it before their final adjournment.

No grander spectacle, on a more momentous occasion, was ever witnessed in the great hall of representatives. Three o'clock in the afternoon was the hour named for taking the vote. Before the house met, at twelve o'clock noon, the spacious galleries began to fill. The diplomatic gallery and the ladies' galleries were brilliantly crowded at an early hour. Blue uniforms of the soldiers of the republic were thickly scattered in the human mass that occupied every available space. Sable sons of Africa, too, were there. It was the day of the deliverance of their race from American bondage. Thereafter the Declaration of Independence would have some meaning for them. The floor was crowded with privileged persons. Every inch of standing room was occupied. Never in our time were so many notable men gathered together in a single place to watch the crowning event in the long contest between freedom and slavery. There were present senators, cabinet officers, justices of the supreme court, governors of several states, generals of the army and high officers of the navy in uniform, heads of bureaus, ex-members of congress, and eminent persons who were admitted to the floor by common consent, including the families of members. It was a magnificent audience. Representatives of nearly all nationalities were present to watch what many regarded as the doubtful outcome of one of the most important and significant legislative events in modern history—the turning point, the right-about-face, in the career of a great nation.

Soon after the session commenced on that eventful day Mr. Ashley was recognized by the speaker, and he called for a vote on the motion to reconsider which he had caused to be entered on the house journal at the preceding session. The time allowed for debate before coming to a vote had been parceled out. There was no scramble for the floor. The speaker knew whom to recognize. No mistakes were made, and there was no disorder. A few were certain that the amendment would pass, but a large majority hoped it would, yet were in doubt. Mr. Ashley first yielded a part of his hour to Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania. He was a tall man with a florid complexion and grey whiskers, dignified in manner, and for thirty-three years had been an iron manufacturer. At the previous session he had voted against the amendment. His voice was not strong and he sent his manuscript to the clerk's desk to be read. It fell to my lot to deliver his brief speech, which concisely and in a matter of fact way gave the reasons why its author had made up his mind to change his vote of the year before and have it recorded this time

in the affirmative. It was received with applause. Mr. McAllister nodded approval of the reading.

The floor was next assigned to Alexander H. Coffroth, also of Pennsylvania. He was an active, energetic man, self educated, aggressive in manner, and a lawyer. From his place on the floor, in a clear and forceful manner, he gave his reasons for supporting the joint resolution in 1865 which he had voted against in 1864. A radical democrat, Mr. Coffroth represented the Gettysburg district, and it seemed eminently appropriate that the representative of a district that contained one of the great battle fields of the civil war should vote for the final and absolute abolishment of slavery, which caused the terrible conflict. The Gettysburg district, therefore, in the person of its democratic representative stands upon the record made that day in favor of unchangeable emancipation. Gettysburg would not have been logically and consistently represented if he had voted in the negative.

The floor was next assigned to Anson Herrick, a Tammany democrat of New York city. Born in Lewiston, Maine, in 1812, he received a common school education; entered a printing office to learn the trade at the age of fifteen years; went to New York in 1836; commenced the publication of a weekly journal in 1838, the name of which was changed to the New York Atlas, and remained its editor and proprietor until his death. His father, Ebenezer Herrick, was a representative in congress from Maine from 1821 to 1827. Anson Herrick was a plain man, solidly built, well informed, and an honest congressman. He was defeated for re-election in 1864, Fernando Wood running against him as a stump candidate on a peace platform. He made a manly speech in favor of the amendment, closing the debate in its behalf. Thus the time allowed, under the rules, to Mr. Ashley, because he had charge of the measure, ended. Thus, also, came to an end many years of acrimonious debate in congress of the slavery question.

The remaining hour for making speeches was occupied by the opposition. None of its strong men in the house participated in the closing debate. Speeches were made by James S. Brown, a native of Maine, and a representative of the Milwaukee district, Wisconsin; by Aaron Harding, a native and representative of Kentucky, and, like Mr. Brown, a lawyer; and by Martin Kalbfleish, a native of Netherlands and a druggist in Brooklyn, New York. These three men, by birth the Yankee, the Southerner and the Hollander, made the last pleas and gave the last excuses, that went upon record, on the part of those, though each spoke

only for himself, who were opposed to the constitutional abolition of slavery.

THEN CAME THE VOTING.

Soon after three o'clock Mr. Ashley moved the previous question upon his motion to reconsider the vote whereby the amendment failed to receive a two-thirds majority at the preceding session. This vote was taken amid hushed attention. It needed but a majority to reconsider, still it was hoped that there would be two-thirds of those voting in favor of the motion. When the roll call was completed and the result announced, it was found that three more votes were necessary to make the desired two-thirds. This lent added eagerness and anxiety to the final vote. Mr. Ashley had no fear. His face wore a smile. The tally sheet had not been impeached. Up to noon those opposed to the amendment confidently predicted its defeat. One of its most earnest advocates and supporters remarked: "Tis the toss of a copper whether it wins or not." He had not seen the tally sheet.

After the previous question was ordered, Robert H. Mallory of Kentucky asked for a postponement of the vote to some subsequent day, and intimated an intention to filibuster if the request was not granted. Mr. Ashley firmly refused. There was calmness of manner but his lips pressed tightly together at the close of the refusal. The hour of destiny for freedom and peace—of doom for slavery and war—had come. The yeas and nays were ordered. "The clerk will call the roll," said Speaker Colfax. At four o'clock calling the names of the members in alphabetical order commenced. The call proceeded with unusual deliberation. Spectators in the galleries leaned forward to catch the responses. The feeling was intense. Doubts as to the result increased the anxiety. Two hundred and forty-five years of slavery were crowded into that half hour. Destiny was in that roll call. Such an hour and such an occasion seldom come in the life of a nation. They will never appear again, for there is no more chattel slavery among civilized nations. The last half of this century has witnessed its abolition. In our country alone it went out in battle and blood. That roll call was not monotonous. It was the ending of an old and the beginning of a new era.

When the name of John Ganson, a democrat from Buffalo, New York, was called and he responded "aye" in a clear, emphatic voice, hearty applause swept through the hall and was repeated in the galleries. It was the first popular break in the hushed attention. Mr. Ganson was a man of fine appearance, fair complexion, completely bald, a good lawyer and always a gentleman. Few men of his quality find seats in congress,

and if they do they do not like the atmosphere and seldom retain them. Next, when the name of James E. English, a Connecticut democrat and one of the most popular citizens of that state, was called and he voted "aye," the applause was longer and louder. The character of the man, high integrity, patriotic, independent, was expressed in that vote. He was unswervable from what he regarded as his duty. When the applause subsided, Speaker Colfax appealed to members to set an example to the galleries and preserve the decorum of a deliberative body during the remainder of the roll call, and it proceeded without further demonstrations or interruptions, yet with the closest attention and intensest solicitude on the part of the great audience.

When completed, the names of those voting in the affirmative were read, followed by those who voted in the negative. No changes or corrections were made. Richard U. Shearman, tally clerk, handed the result to the speaker, who announced the vote and said: "The constitutional majority of two-thirds having voted in the affirmative the joint resolution is passed." The vote stood, yeas, 119; nays, 56; not voting, 8. A change of three votes would have again brought defeat. Still the delay would have been only temporary, as the thirty-ninth congress, fresher from the people, would have passed the amendment. But, happily, thus ended the long and close struggle in congress. At last

"It is done!  
In the circuit of the sun  
Shall the sound thereof go forth.  
It shall bid the sad rejoice,  
It shall give the dumb a voice,  
It shall belt with joy the earth!"

Words cannot portray the scene that followed the announcement of the result. A volcano of feeling broke forth. The deep interest, the intense anxiety, the mingled hope and doubt, found expression and relief in a splendid outburst of enthusiasm. Members and spectators rose spontaneously to their feet, waved hats and handkerchiefs, grasped one another's hands, tossed documents aloft, laughed and cheered over the closely won yet great victory. The thousands in the galleries caught the fever of applause and for several minutes, amid the wavings of handkerchiefs by the ladies, who seemed like white-winged messengers of peace, the cheering swelled and surged, now half ceasing, then rising into greater volume, a loud paean of triumph sweeping around and through the great hall, on the consummation of a long and bitter conflict between human freedom and human slavery.

## DEAD AND ENTOMBED.

Not often, only once in the life of any nation, can such a scene be witnessed. Slavery was struck dead and was entombed by the thirteenth amendment. Emancipation had triumphed; abolition had won its fight—not by rending the constitution—but, while saving the important gains of the past, in a legal and constitutional manner, wresting that instrument forever, with all its sacred associations, from the control of the slave power, and making it thenceforth the bulwark of civil liberty. The cost was great—a terrible civil war, billions of treasure and thousands of precious human lives.

While the applause was regnant, Ebon C. Ingersoll of Illinois, successor of Owen Lovejoy from the Peoria district and a brother of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, caught the speaker's eye and said: "In honor of this immortal and sublime event, I move that the house do now adjourn." The motion was agreed to. That eventful day's session ended. So, too, an institution that began when a Dutch man-of-war sailed into a Virginia harbor in 1620 and sold a few slaves to the planters, came to an end. Slowly the immense audience dispersed. A salute of one hundred guns was fired in Washington, a city in which slavery was legalized only three years before. January 31, 1865, became for all time a white letter day in American history.

On the following evening a procession was formed and marched with music to the executive mansion. In response to calls, President Lincoln made a short and characteristic speech. He referred to the emancipation proclamation saying, it "fell far short of what the amendment will be when consummated. A question might be raised whether the proclamation was legally valid. It might be urged that it only aided those who came into our lines, and that it was inoperative as to those who did not give themselves up; or that it would have no effect upon the children of slaves born hereafter; in fact, it would be urged that it did not meet the evil. But this amendment is a king's cure-all for all the evils. It winds the whole thing up." So it did. Any gigantic evil entrenched in avarice—slave power or money power—used for political control, given an inch will take an ell, needs plucking out by the roots to be got rid of.

## RATIFICATION.

The question of ratification by three-fourths of the states was deemed certain. Illinois was first to ratify, taking action on the next day, February 1; Michigan and Rhode Island followed with a formal ap-

proval on February 2; Maryland, New York and West Virginia, February 3; Maine and Kansas, February 7; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, February 8; Virginia, February 9; Ohio and Missouri, February 10; Indiana and Nevada, February 16; Louisiana, February 17; Minnesota, February 23; Wisconsin, March 1; Vermont, March 9; Tennessee, April 7; Arkansas, April 20; Connecticut, May 5; New Hampshire, July 1; South Carolina, November 13; Alabama, December 2; North Carolina, December 4; Georgia, December 9; Oregon, December 11; California, December 20; Florida, December 28—all in 1865; New Jersey, January 23, 1866; Iowa, January 24, 1866; Texas, February 18, 1870.

Without waiting for the action of the six last named states, William H. Seward, secretary of state in the cabinet of President Andrew Johnson, on December 18, 1865, issued an official proclamation that the legislatures of 27 states, being three-fourths of the 36 states of the union, had ratified the amendment and made it a part of the constitution of the United States. Events had moved swiftly. Seven years before, in 1858, Mr. Seward made a speech at Rochester, New York, in which, after alluding to the constant collisions between the systems of free and slave labor in this country, he said: "It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States will, sooner or later, become entirely a slave holding nation or entirely a free labor nation."

Contrast this amendment with the one passed by congress in 1861 to perpetuate slavery and save the union! In February, 1861, when the storm cloud of war was gathering all along the southern horizon, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, chairman of the peace committee of thirty-three members, reported the following constitutional amendment: "No amendment shall be made to the constitution which will authorize or give to congress the power to abolish or interfere within any state with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said state."

This amendment would have given slavery a long lease of power in the states and would have placed the institution beyond the reach of national emancipation. It passed the house of representatives, yeas 133, nays 65; and the senate, yeas 24, nays 12. Signing it was one of the last official acts of President Buchanan; and it was approved by President Lincoln in his inaugural address of March 5, 1861. Four years of civil war wrought a mighty transformation. Men are educated by events.



## VALUABLE ASSISTANCE.

Not all the work in behalf of the thirteenth amendment was done by Representatives Ashley and Frank. They had charge of the measure, enlisting in its behalf such other persons as they deemed best, and for keeping the record they were the only ones who reported to Mr. Shearman or myself the names of the former opponents who would vote for it at the next roll call. Volunteer work was also performed.

Michigan's six representatives—Fernando C. Beaman of Adrian, Charles Upson of Coldwater, Francis W. Kellogg of Grand Rapids, John W. Longyear of Lansing, Augustus C. Baldwin of Pontiac, and John F. Driggs of East Saginaw—all voted for the amendment; both of our senators, Zachariah Chandler and Jacob M. Howard, having voted for it at the previous session; thus giving the state a clean record, by representatives of both political parties, in its favor.

Mr. Baldwin was the only democrat in congress from the state. At the previous session, thinking that the time had not arrived in the progress of the war to present to the people a new issue, he voted in the negative; but in 1865, when evident that the war was drawing to a close by the collapse of the confederacy, he was sincerely in its favor. Not only had he informed Mr. Ashley that he should vote in the affirmative, and his name had been recorded "aye" on the tally sheet, but he used his influence in its behalf. During the forenoon of the day the vote was taken he called at Willard's hotel to see Hon. Samuel S. Cox, a fellow democrat, for the express purpose of urging him to vote in the affirmative. On arriving at Mr. Cox's rooms he found Representative James E. English there on the same errand. Both advised their brilliant democratic colleague to support the amendment. Mr. Cox replied that he had both spoken and voted against it, and he did not see how he could consistently vote for it. The suggestion was made to him that circumstances were altogether different; that the war was near its close, and the troublesome question should be forever settled. Finally Mr. Cox said if he could have six to eight minutes to explain he would change his vote. On arriving at the capitol, Mr. Baldwin had an interview with Mr. Ashley and told him what Mr. Cox had said. Mr. Ashley replied that he would be glad to accommodate Mr. Cox, but every moment of the time at his control was promised to other democrats, and it would be impossible to make different arrangements, and give him or anyone else an opportunity to explain his vote. The result was Mr. Cox voted in the negative.

To the first roll call every member present responded except Mr. Baldwin. Surrounded as he was by a number of Democrats who were opposed to the amendment, he did not want to take the lead among his party colleagues in responding "aye." When the roll was completed he rose and addressing the speaker asked that his name be called. This was done and his vote recorded. Then Speaker Colfax said: "The clerk will call my name." Turning partly around, I called "Schuyler Colfax." Of course the answer was an emphatic "aye;" and his was the last vote recorded on that memorable roll call, which completed the congressional work of emancipation, and removed the stain of slavery from the national escutcheon.

#### MICHIGAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

This is an appropriate occasion to place on record in the "collections" of this society brief biographical sketches of the senators and representatives from Michigan who were members of the 38th congress and by their votes and influence contributed to the passage of the thirteenth amendment.

Zachariah Chandler, the senior senator, was born in Bedford, New Hampshire, December 10, 1818, and died suddenly in Chicago, November 1, 1879. His education was limited to the common schools and an academy of his native state. In 1833 he came to Detroit and engaged in the dry goods business. As a wholesale merchant he was energetic and successful. His public life began in 1851 by his election as mayor of Detroit. In 1852 he received the whig nomination for governor. There was no hope of an election, but he made a thorough canvass, and the large vote cast for him gave him political prominence. After that he took an active part in every campaign in the state and soon became known in national politics. In 1856 he spoke with Abraham Lincoln at a great political mass meeting in Kalamazoo. In the winter of 1857, at the first election of a United States senator by the state legislature after the republican party came into power in Michigan, he was chosen to fill that high office as the successor of General Lewis Cass, the most eminent citizen of the state for more than half a century. By his indomitable energy, political sagacity, and firmness in adherence to the principles he was chosen to represent, he at once took a prominent position in that body of eminent men during the war and reconstruction periods. During his first term he served as chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia and of the committee on commerce—the latter always his favorite position and the one for which his busi-

ness experience and familiarity with the greatest internal waterway of the world, the lake region of the growing northwest, eminently fitted him. February 11, 1861, while the Michigan legislature was in session, he wrote his famous "blood letting letter" to Governor Austin Blair, showing that he saw the inevitableness of the appeal to arms as the bloody arbitrament of the struggle between freedom and slavery, and he defended it in one of his last speeches in the senate. He never flinched from his record. The gist of the letter was in the following sentence, from which it received its name: "Without a little blood letting this union will not, in my estimation, be worth a rush."

In 1863 Mr. Chandler was re-elected and during his second term was continued at the head of the committee on commerce, served on the important committee on mines and mining, and with Senators Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, and James W. Nesmith of Oregon, for colleagues, on the famous special committee on the conduct of the war. This brought him into close association with the war department and with the leading military men of the great civil conflict. To the last he was a warm friend of the greatest of war secretaries, Edwin M. Stanton. Both tall in stature, and with a peculiar movement, or gait, it is something to be remembered to have seen Chandler and Lincoln walking together on the street. They, too, were great friends, and in all-around, common sense statesmanship and native shrewdness and sagacity admirable representatives of the vigorous west. It was eminently appropriate, therefore, that Mr. Chandler should be a member of the national committee that accompanied the remains of the martyred President to their final resting place in Illinois, after his assassination in Washington. For the third time, in 1869, Mr. Chandler was elected United States senator, and was retained as chairman of his favorite committee on commerce until 1875, when the legislature failed to give him a fourth term, and Judge Isaac P. Christiancy was chosen his successor. In October, 1875, President Grant tendered him the important position of secretary of the interior. His services in that important department were of a notable character. He at once selected Charles T. Gorham of Marshall, for assistant secretary and Augustus C. Gaylord of Saginaw, as assistant attorney general for the department, and introduced order, system, business methods and integrity into the administration of its affairs; and he held the office until the close of the presidential term in 1877. When Mr. Christiancy resigned in 1879 to accept the office of minister to Peru, the Michigan legislature elected Mr. Chandler to fill out the unex-

pired term, until 1881. No doubt he would have been elected the fifth time that year had he lived. He was chairman of the republican national committee in the exciting presidential campaign of 1876, and it is not probable that, without his indomitable energy and mastery of the situation, President Hayes would have occupied the executive mansion. His announcement as chairman of the desired result was terse and characteristic: "Hayes has 181 electoral votes, and is elected." That was the final count. He was Michigan's only United States Senator who served in the national congress before and during the civil war, and was identified with all the leading measures of that eventful era of American history. He was not an orator, but was a plain, direct and forcible speaker, of commanding appearance and with marked physical and mental qualities, endowed with strong common sense and an excellent practical judgment, with great energy and a perseverance that led him onward from success to success, he was always true to his friends, and take him all around he was the most influential senator the state ever sent to Washington, and had he lived would have been the logical and probable candidate for president in 1880.

Kinsley S. Bingham, the first republican governor of Michigan, elected in 1854 and re-elected in 1856, was chosen United States senator, to succeed Charles E. Stuart, in 1859, and died in 1861, thus closing a long and an honorable career in the state. Jacob M. Howard became his successor. This eminent lawyer and citizen was born in Shaftesbury, Vermont, July 10, 1805, and died suddenly at his home in Detroit. He was educated at the academies of Bennington and Brattleboro in his native state, and graduated at Williams college, Massachusetts, in 1830. He studied law, taught in a Massachusetts academy for a time; removed to Michigan in 1832, was admitted to the bar of the territory in 1833, and became one of the ablest lawyers of the northwest. In 1838 he was a member of the state legislature, and was elected by the whigs the sole representative from the state to the twenty-sixth congress in 1840, serving during the sessions of 1841-3. He drafted the platform of the republican party at the time of its organization "under the oaks" in Jackson, in 1854, was nominated as its first candidate for attorney general on the state ticket and was elected in November of that year, and re-elected in 1856 and 1858, holding the office for six consecutive years. In 1862 he was elected United States senator to succeed Kinsley S. Bingham, deceased, serving out the term which ended with the third of March, 1865, and that year was chosen his own successor for the full term which ended in 1871. Not only was Mr. Howard a profound lawyer.

but he was the most accurate and deliberate extempore debater in the senate. Dennis Murphy, of the corps of senate stenographers, once told me that Mr. Howard's extemporaneous speeches, as delivered, needed fewer verbal and grammatical corrections than those of any other member of that body. A master of clear statement, he was calm and logical rather than flowery and rhetorical in debate. In the discussion of all the great questions of the war and reconstruction period he took a prominent part. Not a working politician, but a lawyer and statesman of eminent ability, he was very useful during the critical period of American history that he served in the senate. In framing the constitutional amendments, both the thirteenth and the fourteenth, and in the consideration of the legislative steps necessary for the reconstruction of the shattered union, his knowledge was of immense value to the country. Of the important committee on the judiciary he was one of the most influential members, and besides this valuable service, he was also a member of the committee of military affairs and of private land claims, and chairman of the committee on the Pacific railroad, directing and shaping legislation that resulted in building transcontinental lines to the Pacific Ocean and making the union of the states commercially one and indissoluble forever. Steel rails and free commercial intercourse bind people and states closer and firmer together than do constitutional provisions and standing armies. During the years that Mr. Howard and Mr. Chandler served together in the senate, Michigan ranked second to no other state in the ability and influence of its senators. Not until Mr. Howard's defeat for re-election in 1871, chiefly because not adapted to the service of an errand boy in the departments, and had not the taste and peculiar attainments needed for the efficient promotion of greedy private and local interests by legislation, did the senate begin to take on its present acknowledged condition and reputation as a "degenerate body." Since the retirement of Mr. Howard, Michigan has had no senator capable of discussing great constitutional and international questions. His speech in executive session on the conflicting claims of the United States and Great Britain, growing out of the treaty of 1846, to San Juan and other islands between Washington territory and Vancouver island, afterwards printed by order of the senate, was conclusive as to the rights of this country in the dispute, and was so decided on arbitration by the Emperor of Germany. Mr. Howard rightfully ranked as one of the great senators of the civil war and reconstruction era, and was second to no other senator in wise counsel and

the careful work which resulted in embodying the victorious issues of the war in the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments of the constitution.

Fernando C. Beaman, of Adrian, was born in Chester, Windsor county, Vermont, June 28, 1814, and died at his home in Adrian, Sept. 27, 1882. When a boy he removed with his father to the state of New York, and was left an orphan at the age of fifteen years. He received a good English education at the Franklin county academy, studied law in Rochester, New York, came to Michigan in 1838, and at once commenced the practice of his profession. For six years he served as prosecuting attorney of Lenawee county; was judge of probate for four years; in 1856 was chosen a presidential elector and voted for John C. Fremont for president and William L. Dayton for vice-president, the first republican candidates named for these offices; and in 1860 was elected a representative in congress from the first Michigan district, was re-elected four times, giving him a continuous service during ten of the most eventful congressional years in American history. Mr. Beaman was an able and conscientious member of congress—a hater of shams and frauds. He served on many important committees, the one on territories, of which he was a member, having had great prominence during the contest with slavery. He was one of the first to take an advanced and correct position on the question of reconstruction, which involved the relation of the rebel states to the union—a position that was finally adopted by congress. In the thirty-seventh congress, during his first term, he made a carefully prepared speech on the subject, which attracted wide attention at the time and caused much discussion. By most it was regarded as premature, and only by a few as presenting a true and safe plan for restoring the seceded states, after the rebellion should be crushed, to their forfeited rights in the union. In fact, he was a pioneer among congressmen in advocating the proper course to be pursued. From the committee on territories he reported a bill to establish provisional governments for the districts of country in rebellion against the United States, which, although laid on the table, contained the principles afterwards adopted by congress for the restoration of the suicided states to their normal and loyal relations with the federal government. He “assumed the ground that the so called seceded states had ceased to exist under the constitution; that their constitutional governments had been abrogated,” or, in other words, “usurped and overthrown.” This left the territory an integral part of the union, but with state governments abrogated, and the power of congress over them supreme. There was no confusion of ideas in Mr. Beaman’s position because it conformed to

the facts. An accident shows how the speech was received. Senator Charles Sumner, who had studied the question thoroughly, after reading it came over to the house and congratulated Mr. Beaman upon the position he had taken and the ability with which he had maintained it. Upon the slavery question he was equally clear and explicit. Nearly a year before the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, he said upon the floor of the house: "Every vestige of slavery in the entire country must be removed; and to that end we must watch with keenest vigilance every step that is taken to reconstruct the rebel states. Let the great cotton and sugar growing regions be made forever free. Adopt speedy and efficient measures to procure an amendment to the federal constitution that will banish the evil from all the loyal states; hope for its speedy extinction everywhere; but ever remember, that so long as a slave breathes within our borders, there is no safety for republican institutions." Mr. Beaman was an honest and able representative.

Among the members of congress at that time, Coldwater had a worthy and hard working representative in the person of Charles Upson. Whatever his hands found to do, that he did with all his might. He was true to his convictions, true to his constituents, and had a straightforward and common sense way of looking at questions as they arose for consideration. He spotted those who were promoting money making jobs through legislation, and was sure to vote against their schemes whenever they appeared.

Born at Southington, Connecticut, March 19, 1821, he received an academic education; studied law in the Yale law school; came to Michigan in 1845 and settled in St. Joseph county, where he practiced his profession; was county clerk in 1849-50, and prosecuting attorney in 1853-4; was a member of the state senate in 1855-6; was elected attorney general for the state in 1860 and served until January 1, 1863; at the general election in 1862 he was chosen to represent the second congressional district in the thirty-eighth congress, and was re-elected to the thirty-ninth and fortieth congresses, his terms covering the last half of the civil war and the period of reconstruction.

Much of his service was on the important committee of elections, which is not generally of conspicuous and permanent public interest, but he brought to the discharge of its duties a sound judgment and an honest purpose. It can be said of him that he always did his best. One of the warmest contested elections was against Gen. Benjamin F. Loan, of Missouri. A majority of the committee decided against Gen. Loan's right

to the seat, Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts, its chairman, and Portus Baxter, of Vermont, republicans, agreeing with the democratic members. Mr. Dawes was a persistent fighter, and did not like to be beaten. Mr. Upson believed that Gen. Loan, the sitting member, was entitled to the seat; he prepared the minority report, and made the principal speech in his behalf. It was a hotly contested case, but Mr. Upson showed that if Gen. Loan was unseated it would be from an inference merely, as the proofs did not disclose the fact of military interference, as alleged, that prevented any loyal man from voting as he desired. The contest was sharp and earnest, but Mr. Upson won. Gen. Loan's right to the seat was sustained by twelve majority.

It was during this roll call that Thaddeus Stevens, when his name was called, looked up as if uncertain how to vote, and asked of a member in an adjacent seat the question: "Which is our feller?" Noticing his hesitancy, I said in a low tone to the tally clerk, "aye," and with one of his saturnine smiles he nodded an assent. The result in this case, under the circumstances, was a great triumph for Mr. Upson.

Among the members of the house, as already stated, there was not a more inveterate enemy of legislative jobbers and speculators. They were plenty, even at that time, when the hearts of loyal citizens were sublimated with the fervor of patriotism. Mr. Upson's judgment as to men and measures was excellent, and he gave to his people in congress faithful and honorable service. He was a party man, yet true to his own convictions of right and duty. Emancipation had no truer friend. When he died, September 9, 1885, at his home in Coldwater, loved and respected by all, without distinction of party or creed, the feelings entertained for him were a tribute to his sterling integrity and clean character.

Personally no member of congress from Michigan was held in higher esteem than John W. Longyear, of Lansing. When nominated for representative at a third district convention in Jackson in 1862, he had scarcely been mentioned as a candidate, Daniel L. Case, his brother-in-law, being the first choice of the Ingham county delegation. Calhoun county presented Samuel S. Lacey and Washtenaw named one of its own citizens, but Jackson and Eaton had no special favorite. Mr. Longyear had gained a good reputation as a lawyer, and his practice in the circuit court of Eaton county had made him well and favorably known to its people, especially those who were active in politics. It was natural, therefore, that he should be preferred over any of the other candidates mentioned. Talk among the delegates disclosed the fact that he would be acceptable to all portions of the district, and the result



was a gradual centralization of votes upon him, without his name having been publicly announced as a candidate, which resulted in his unanimous nomination. It was one of the few instances where the office sought the man. His canvass of the district was made in a quiet and dignified manner, and his stump speeches were characterized by the same logical precision of statement as his pleas in the court room. Born at Shandaken, Ulster county, New York, October 22, 1820, he received a good academic education, and removed to Michigan in 1844, finished studying law and was admitted to the bar in 1846; was elected representative in the thirty-eighth congress in 1862, and was re-elected in 1864, filling the position for four years. During his first session, in May, 1864, while the method for restoring the rebel states was in a very chaotic condition, congressional sentiment not having centered upon any definite plan, Mr. Longyear made a carefully prepared speech on a bill to provide them with temporary governments while in transition from slavery and rebellion to freedom and loyalty. Doubt as to a northern triumph had disappeared, and this question had begun to assume practical importance. Mr. Longyear's argument was based upon the theory and the fact that loyal state governments, in the rebellious districts where secession had taken place, had been usurped and overthrown, and hence the authority of the United States over them was supreme; and, therefore, that congress, as in the case of territories, had the constitutional right and power to make it an imperative condition of their readmission into the union as reconstructed states that slavery and involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited. The uppermost idea was to get rid of slavery, as the passage of a constitutional amendment for its abolishment was not deemed possible. It was a lucid presentation of the question, and the most important speech made by Mr. Longyear during his congressional career. Furthermore, it advocated the plan of reconstruction that was finally adopted. He showed what constitutes a state, and then that a state might forfeit its rights and privileges as a member of the federal union, yet leave both territory and people under the control of the United States as the supreme authority. The merit of the speech lay in a clear presentment of the actual relation of the suicided states to the general government and in a different line of argument than had been taken by any other person who had discussed the question. That brilliant representative, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, who was the author of the bill under consideration and reported it out of the committee and defended it on the floor, was greatly pleased with Mr. Longyear's speech and took occasion to thank him for it. His clear perception and judicial

fairness and impartiality enabled him to present the subject from a higher standpoint than mere political expediency. On the expiration of his service in congress, Mr. Longyear resumed his law practice in Lansing and continued it until his appointment as United States district judge for the eastern district of Michigan, in which position he added much to a well-earned reputation as a lawyer and a man of varied ability, by the eminent fitness he displayed for that important judicial position from the day he entered upon its duties until his death.

Francis W. Kellogg, known on the stump as the "war horse of the pine woods," represented the fourth district. He was born in Worthington, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, May 30, 1810, received a limited school education; gained a wide reputation as a temperance lecturer; and soon after coming to Michigan engaged in the business of lumbering near Grand Rapids, the village of Kelloggville receiving its name from him. In 1856 he was elected a representative in the state legislature, and his fame as a stump speaker led to his nomination and election in 1858, as one of Michigan's four representatives in congress, and he was re-elected to the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth congresses in 1860 and in 1862. During his last term he served on the committee on military affairs. He was a man of great energy, but was not prominent in practical legislation. As a rule, the stump orator is not an efficient law-maker. After the civil war he went south, having received an appointment in the revenue service at Mobile, Alabama, and in 1866 was elected from the reconstructed state as one of its representatives in congress. Not often did Mr. Kellogg participate in debate on the floor of the house, but in June, 1864, he made an impassioned extemporaneous speech in favor of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. It was a subject with which he was very familiar and well adapted to his style of oratory. He reviewed the events which led up to the civil war, dwelling with special earnestness upon the aggressions of slavery, and urged the adoption of the thirteenth amendment as the only sure method of removing its cause and preventing its recurrence. But few speeches in the house received closer attention, and yet it was not an argument, but an impassioned declamation.

As stated in referring to the vote on the final passage of the thirteenth amendment, Augustus C. Baldwin of Pontiac, was the only democratic member of congress from Michigan during the civil war. Prior to the election of 1862 the conduct of the war, especially with respect to slavery, had been so unsatisfactory to the people of the northern states that the republican majority in the thirty-eighth congress was small. In

the house the classification of members stood 102 republicans, 75 democrats and nine anti-republicans from the border slave states. In fact there was only about 20 straight republican majority. Popular feeling against the war policy of the administration found expression at the polls in the defeat of many republican congressmen. Majorities were reduced in all the Michigan districts, and in the fifth district the election resulted in a majority for Mr. Baldwin over Roland E. Trowbridge, the republican nominee and a member of the preceding congress. It can be said of Mr. Baldwin that his criticisms of the war policy of the party in power were not one whit more severe than those uttered by many prominent republicans. As late as 1864 such stalwart republicans as Representative Henry Winter Davis and Senator Benjamin F. Wade published a scathing arraignment of what they deemed the shortcomings of the administration in the conduct of the war. Mr. Baldwin was a loyal democrat, and when the proper time came, according to his own best judgment, to abolish slavery by constitutional amendment, he did not hesitate to vote in its favor. At the first session of the thirty-eighth congress but few democrats voted in the affirmative on the thirteenth amendment—John A. Griswold and Moses F. Odell of New York, Joseph Bailey of Pennsylvania, and Ezra Wheeler of Wisconsin, but at the second session, when the final vote was taken, they were joined by thirteen other party associates, namely: Augustus C. Baldwin of Michigan, Alexander H. Coffroth and Archibald McAllister of Pennsylvania, James E. English of Connecticut, John Ganson, Anson Herrick, Homer A. Nelson, William Radford and John B. Steele of New York, Wells A. Hutchins, of Ohio, Austin A. King and James S. Rollins, of Missouri, and George H. Yeaman of Kentucky, and by their help the two-thirds majority was obtained. It is quite significant that, in proportion to numbers, a larger vote was given to the amendment from the border slave states than from the border free states. But what a flood of recollections the repetition of these names, all of which were checked "aye" upon that tally sheet kept at the clerk's desk, and were so recorded upon the final roll call, brings to mind, and now, after thirty-four years, only Mr. Baldwin, among these democratic representatives, is living on this earth! All the rest have gone. Roll calls, like drum beats for departed soldiers, are nothing now to them. In a great crisis they performed their duty and were loyal to liberty and to inalienable human rights. Mr. Baldwin, who thus helped to make for Michigan a clean record on the real issue of the war, was born in Salina, New York, December 24, 1817; received a common school education, and, by the loss of his father when young, was

dependent upon his own efforts for support and to get on in the world. In 1837, in his twentieth year, he came to Michigan and settled in Oakland county; taught school; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1842. In 1844 and 1846, when residing at Milford, Oakland county, he was elected a representative in the state legislature; in 1853-54 was prosecuting attorney for the same county; was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore democratic national conventions of 1860; in 1862 was elected a representative to the thirty-eighth congress, and was a delegate to the democratic national convention held in Chicago in 1864. Since then he has served as circuit judge, having been elected to the office by the people among whom he has lived for sixty-two years. He is also an active member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

The sixth district was represented by John F. Driggs of East Saginaw. Four words describe his congressional career—"he was a worker," and one of the most efficient workers for constituents that Michigan ever sent to the national house of representatives. He had a way of getting around among members and telling them what was needed for his district that was peculiarly his own. "See Driggs, what is he after now?" would be a not uncommon remark when he was circulating about the house and seeking support or overcoming opposition to some measure of local importance. His was the big district, composed of twenty-eight counties, more than one-third of the state in area, with a coast line extending from the lower part of Lake Huron to the westernmost point of Lake Superior, and he worked persistently and efficiently for the whole of it. At times he would have three or four volunteer clerks helping him on his large correspondence, and when his right hand was afflicted with pen paralysis, he at once learned to write with his left hand. The interests of his district were many and varied, with its long coast line and numerous rivers and harbors, with the looking after land grants for railroads, canals and wagon roads, and he had but little time to devote to national politics. As early as 1866 he advocated an extension of the Northern Pacific railroad from Superior City east to the Straits of Mackinaw, and thence across the straits to Saginaw and Detroit for connection with the eastern lines of communication to the seaboard. Thus he was ever on the alert for better means of communication for the great and growing interests of northern Michigan. He talked over the advantages that would accrue from such a road in affording an outlet for the vast mineral and timber resources of the upper peninsula, as well as to the counties it would traverse in the lower peninsula. His capacity for work, sagacity in obtaining assist-

ance from others by personal effort, and his earnest manner, gained him friends and made him a useful member of congress. As a worker he had no superior. A native of the state of New York, Mr. Driggs was born at Kinderhook, March 8, 1813, received a good common school education, was apprenticed to learn the building trade, and became a master mechanic and builder on his own account in New York city; was a member of the same volunteer fire company with David F. Broderick, afterwards the distinguished United States senator from California, who was killed in a duel with Judge Terry; was superintendent of the New York penitentiary in 1844; removed to Michigan in 1856; was president of Saginaw village in 1858, and in November of that year was elected a representative in the state legislature, serving during the session of 1859; and in 1862 was nominated and elected a representative in congress; was re-elected in 1864 and in 1866, giving him a continuous service of six years. His committee experience was largely as a member of the committee on public lands—the one of his choice, as his district had a larger acreage of the public domain than any other single district, unless a member represented an entire state in the United States. The debater, the speechmaker, is seldom an influential member of congress; that distinction belongs to the worker; and this was the reason why Mr. Driggs was an efficient representative. To the war measures of the government, and to the anti-slavery amendment of the constitution he gave an earnest support.

#### LINCOLN, THE EMANCIPATOR.

No reference to that crucial period of American history is complete without mentioning Abraham Lincoln. He was the central figure of the civil war and emancipation epoch. True, at the outset, he insisted quite tenaciously upon gradual emancipation with compensation; but the institution of slavery was so firmly rooted in avarice, habit and prejudice, that his policy was impracticable, even in the border slave states. In his annual message to the second session of the thirty-eighth congress, which met December 6, 1864, Mr. Lincoln dwelt on the fact that the presidential campaign of that year had shown that the people were determined to maintain the integrity of the union. No candidate for office, high or low, had ventured to seek for votes on the avowal that he was in favor of surrendering the union of the states. Having advanced, step by step, to the acceptance of the principle of complete emancipation, there he remained firm and steadfast. In the message referred to he said: "I shall not retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms

of that proclamation. If the people should make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it. In stating a single condition of peace, I mean simply to say that war will cease on the part of the government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it."

There was very little disunion sentiment at the north in 1864, but there were wide differences of opinion as to slavery, and as to the methods that should be adopted to restore unity and peace. Even Michigan voted against negro suffrage. Gen. McClellan, who was nominated on a peace platform as the presidential candidate in opposition to Mr. Lincoln, declared in his letter of acceptance that the union "must be preserved at all hazards." With reference to the declaration that the war had been a failure he said: "I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who had survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors, and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren, had been in vain; that we had abandoned that union for which we have so often periled our lives."

Union and peace with slavery were impossible. President Lincoln came to see that his cherished policy of gradual emancipation with compensation was out of the question. His two interviews with border state congressmen and the Delaware suggestion proved its utter futility. But with each great emergency, as it came, he rose, though sometimes his movements seemed slow, to the height of the occasion.

His steps were slow, yet forward still  
He pressed where others paused or failed;  
The calm star clomb with constant will,  
The restless meteor flashed and paled."

The real issue during the four years of bloody civil war was between freedom and slavery. Disguised, glossed over, evaded, as the real issue generally was, the war was waged between free states and slave states, each with a government and with brave armies of its own; and the contest culminated in the adoption of the thirteenth amendment and the abolition of slavery. The imperfect ideas that prevailed in the confederacy, as to the incompatibility between freedom and slavery, appear in "An address to the Christians throughout the world," issued at Richmond, Virginia, April 23, 1863, and signed by ninety-six clergymen of all denominations. It shows that men believe according to habit and environment. Among other things they said that "the recent proclamation of the President of the United States seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the south is, in our judgment, a suitable occasion for solemn protest on the part of the people of God throughout the world." This

shows that slavery was entrenched in religion as well as by law, politics and avarice. This shows how utterly slavery had debauched religious sentiment, as well as politics. It was stronger in the minds of clergymen than was the golden rule—the same as are many of the customs and covenances of society today. It was for years the pivot upon which political action turned. Do you wonder that our country is the only one in the world in which, during the latter part of this century, slavery was so inwoven into thought and act that it could be rooted out in no other way than by war? But it had to go. Without emancipation the war would have been a failure, even if peace with slavery had been conquered.

With increasing calmness, as the years go by, we can contemplate the great issue and grand result of the civil war. A generation has passed since it ended. The nation has grown from 31,000,000 to 75,000,000 people. How many of the 31,000,000 in 1860 are now living here on earth? To most of our people the civil war is only a matter of history. They see some of its aged veterans, and that is all. To whom are we indebted, more than to any other one man, for emancipation? To Abraham Lincoln. Both the preliminary proclamation of September, 1862, and the final proclamation of January 1, 1863, are in his handwriting. He drafted the first one without consulting his cabinet or any member of it, and then laid it aside until, he thought, the time for issuing it had come. He had higher counsel than that of any earthly cabinet. But with a calm reliance upon spiritual advice, he looked with native shrewdness after the human side of affairs, and so was well equipped for the great emergency.

Senator Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, who was chairman of the republican national convention at Baltimore in June, 1864, in his speech on that occasion proposed an endorsement of the pending constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. "It was I," remarked Mr. Lincoln to the editor of the New York Independent, "who suggested to Mr. Morgan that he should put that idea into his speech." William Lloyd Garrison said at a public meeting in Music Hall, Boston, February 4, 1865: "And to whom is the country more immediately indebted for this vital and saving amendment of the constitution than, perhaps, to any other man? I believe I may confidently answer—to the humble railsplitter of Illinois—to the presidential chainbreaker for millions of the oppressed—to Abraham Lincoln."

President Lincoln's cabinet was composed of able men—William H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Edwin M. Stanton, Edward Bates, Mont-

gomery Blair, Gideon Welles, and John P. Usher. Each member was well fitted for the position he occupied, yet Abraham Lincoln, the man of the people, educated in the school of experience, was the central figure of that crucial epoch. Higher help he had, yet he was the helmsman who guided the ship of state over the wild waves of rebellion to the haven of emancipation and peace. He was uniquely American. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln left more sayings that will be authoritatively quoted and treasured, so long as men hate imperialism and love personal liberty, than all the rest of our presidents. Of the people in the truest and most literal sense, he had lived their lives and thought their thoughts, and was never educated away from them. He was the president of the plain people. God grant that from the domination and slavery of trusts we may soon find another emancipator.

Great and true men—leaders of the right—are the choicest gifts of the ages. They are rare. They come in critical emergencies to lift humanity to a higher plane. Sometimes the world waits a long time for them—waits until “the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.” It was our good fortune that Lincoln was at the helm in a terrible crisis. One less patient and courageous might have failed us; one less shrewd and kind-hearted might have injured us. Not another like him. His private life, his personal character, his homely personality and beautiful individuality, his public career, his transparent honesty, his quaint humor and shrewd common sense, his sympathy with sorrow and suffering, his “malice toward none and charity for all,” together with his trust in spiritual guidance, constituted a combination of gifts and qualities seldom incarnated in a single personality. Especially did he love the expansive prairies, the rural village and hamlet, and the plain ways of plain people. He was simple and natural. No party animosity alienated men’s hearts from him. The people liked him far better than did the politicians. And when, as the martyr president, his body was borne to its last resting place, political differences were forgotten, and it was laid with tears and tenderness of a whole people in the tomb. The conquered south lost its best friend and the victorious north its wisest leader when he died.

He was a rare man thus to have won all hearts—rare in his social qualities, in his individual character, in his homely ways, in his tender sympathy, in his intuitive perception, in his sense of responsibility, in his intellectual sagacity—a man of keen perception, instinctive insight, knowledge of human nature, quaint and eloquent speech. Do we honor him with the full measure of fame that history will award him? That



cannot be. The passions and prejudices of a great conflict, embittered by sectional and partisan interests and feeling, while happily growing weaker with the lapse of time, yet linger to some extent throughout the land. Lincoln—like other great presidents, Washington, Jefferson and Jackson—was of southern parentage, yet none the less devoted to union and liberty. Once I heard Leutze, the artist, near the close of his earthly career, say that he would like to paint one more picture—"The world's great emancipators." On being asked who he had in mind he replied: "Moses, Jesus, Toussaint L'Overture, Alexander II, and Lincoln." What a combination of names—a galaxy of immortals! Emancipators, representing the Semitic, the African, the Anglo-Saxon and the Slavic races, who occupy this high honor because their names are associated with successful efforts to liberate mankind from bondage—to better the condition of millions of the oppressed.

The men who were so grandly conspicuous in our tremendous battle with slavery—and Lincoln the grandest of all—are not yet seen in full clearness and proportion, as we are too near the great events in which they bore a prominent part. Looking at a mountain near by we see its brushwood, but farther away we behold a grand outline as it looms against the eternal sky. The names of the leading actors in our civil war are immortal because of the extraordinary and imperishable nature of the events with which they are associated. In the revealing light of history, when paltry ambitions are forgotten, and the brushwood has disappeared, they will be greatness by the exceptional and permanent character of the events in which they were conspicuous. Other freedoms are yet to be gained, by peaceful evolution or bloody revolution—the greatest freedom of opportunity for all to every God given privilege—still these men will not be forgotten. When that better day shall come, as come it must, among those who have been leaders in movements to lift humanity to a higher dignity, to give men greater freedom of opportunity, and to weld them into a closer brotherhood—even though they builded better than they knew—and who have taught future generations the inspiring lesson of loyalty to principle, to equal rights, to complete freedom, to humanity, and to God, high over all the men of his time, in the loftiness of his full historic stature, will be read in letters of living light the name of the sixteenth President of the United States—Abraham Lincoln.

And now, as much as in the past, his teachings are needed; for there are other and subtler forms of slavery. We live in a time when the declaration of independence is both ignored and derided in the land of

its birth. More than forty-one years ago, speaking of the fathers of the republic, Mr. Lincoln said: "They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the declaration of independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land, so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles upon which the temple of liberty was being built."

The spirit of inspiration and prescience of prophecy are in these words, for, already, the declaration of independence is condemned in this country as a barren ideality. Lincoln never faltered when in power to maintain the principles he upheld as a private citizen. He is a living presence in the hearts of those who would give to others the same rights they claim for themselves. So he is not dead. His was an exalted career; his work of emancipation was finished; the turmoil of reconstruction he escaped; nothing could have added to his fame; and there is no reason why we should mourn his departure.

"Not for him—who, departing, left millions in tears!  
Not for him—who has died full of honors and years!  
Not for him—who ascended fame's ladder so high  
From the round at the top he has stepped to the sky."

## LOG CABIN TIMES AND LOG CABIN PEOPLE.

BY GEN. B. M. CUTCHEON.

(Delivered before the Lenawee County Pioneer Society, at Adrian, September 23, 1898.)

Mr. President and Members of the Lenawee County Pioneer and Historical Society:

The occasion upon which you meet today is, so far as I am aware, entirely unique. The dedication of a log cabin, from materials contributed by the descendants of the pioneers of this county, and in honor of their memory, is a tribute most appropriate and striking. The part which I have been invited to perform should have fallen to some one of the many able and eloquent men who have had their birth and residence in Lenawee county, and who could tell us from actual experience of the log cabins in which the stalwart men and women of this county were born and nurtured. They could have spoken at first hand and with authority of "log cabin times and log cabin people" in southeastern Michigan.

I can make no pretension to any such distinction. I see from your articles of association that a residence in the county of 25 years is requisite to membership. Perhaps I might claim a sort of brevet membership under that article.

Forty-four years ago last spring I spent a week or ten days in Adrian, and still have a vivid remembrance of many features of the young city of that day. I cannot claim that I "gained a residence" at that time; but five years later, in the autumn of 1859, I became the principal of the "Oak Grove academy" at Medina in this county, succeeding Oliver L. Spaulding, now assistant secretary of the treasury, but then a young graduate of Oberlin, I believe. His family lived in that vicinity, and his brother was one of my pupils. I think it is not improbable that some of my pupils of 1859-60 may be here today.

I think that at that time I gained a "lawful residence" in Lenawee county, and may claim to be a pioneer educator, as that was forty years ago.

Nor can I claim to be a pioneer of Michigan, in the sense that I endured any of the hardships of an early settler. I came to the state to settle finally in February, 1854, and have since been a part of it, participating in its fortunes, in peace and in war, and contributing according to

my ability to its material, intellectual and moral growth. In that sense I am a pioneer. But we speak of sons and "sons-in-law," that is, sons by marriage, and I can say unequivocally that I am a "pioneer in law." The "better half" of me was born in a log cabin in the town of Lima, Washtenaw county, before the beginning of the year 1840, and was reared in all the surroundings of a new settlement in a new state.

My wife's father, Horace Warner, who passed away in my home 22 years ago, came from Shoreham, Vermont, in 1832, and landed in Detroit. I have heard him tell how it took him nearly a week, conveying his family and household goods with an ox team, to make his way over the trail by way of Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor to the site of the village of Dexter, and so out to his 160 acre tract, about three miles southwest of that village. Now the same distance is made in the palace cars of the New York Central and Michigan Central "North Shore Limited" train in about one hour, with all the ease, comfort and luxury of sitting in the most comfortable parlor, and with all the conveniences of a first-class hotel. This statement alone will perhaps sufficiently measure the distance we have progressed since 1832.

Fortunate are the builders of states. It is their privilege to stand at the sources of history and to shape the nascent commonwealth. They give tone and direction to the civilization of a new community, destined to become great and enduring. They make the mould into which the plastic material of future development is poured; and, as the boy is father to the man, so the pioneer community is father to the coming state. They open the clearings, build the first rude highways to connect them, span the streams to make them passable, organize and name the counties, lay off the townships, plat the villages, and provide the means and appliances of education. All unconscious, for the most part, of the great public work they are doing, it seems to them at the time that in a very narrow and contracted sphere, hemmed in by forests, cut off from contact with the outer world, they are carrying on a desperate hand-to-hand struggle for the existence of themselves and their children.

The life is a hard one, and while it tends to develop courage, independence, persistence in overcoming obstacles, and a strong and vigorous manhood and womanhood, yet it is cut off from nearly all the means and sources of what we call "culture" and of associated effort in moral and religious training. Yet the years go by; the clearings become larger until they touch each other; the forest trail becomes an improved highway; the little log school house is abandoned for the well built brick

or frame graded school or high school; villages, towns and cities spring up; railroads come; great enterprises are founded and fostered; and then we look back and see that the hardy pioneers were, in truth and in fact, laying the foundations of a great state, and are deserving of the name of "state builders."

The term "pioneer" is a relative and not an absolute term. We are all in a certain sense pioneers. Each is a pioneer to those who come after him. Log cabin times and log cabin people are always present in some portion of the country.

If we could take a birds-eye historic view of this country, we would see how the log cabin came with the pilgrim fathers to Plymouth Bay in 1620; how those cabins fringed the shores of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia; how they lingered along on that eastern shore, and, after a hundred years, had scarcely penetrated far into the interior; how the log cabin and the log cabin people have steadily advanced across the continent, driving out before them the savage tribes, subduing the stubborn forests, battling with inhospitable climates and dreaded disease, until at last they have swept like a vast wave from one ocean to the other, leaving behind them a redeemed continent, great and prosperous states, splendid cities, and a freedom and civilization unequalled in the history of the world.

It is a mistake to think of the log cabin and log cabin people as a thing of the past. It is merely a question of locality. When I went into northern Michigan, a little more than thirty years ago, that region was in the log cabin stage. The splendid counties of Oceana, Mason, Manistee, Benzie, Grand Traverse and Leelanau were then just settling up with homesteaders, very largely the discharged veterans of the war, and though with vast advantages over the pioneers who settled Monroe, Lenawee and Hillsdale, arising from a closer contact with civilization and a more perfectly organized state of society, yet they were carrying on the same struggle with nature, clearing the dense forests, opening trails through the trackless wilderness, building little log school houses for the children of the scattered settlers, blazing the way for permanent roads to be built long after—in one word, converting a wilderness into a rich and prosperous community.

Today some of these same counties are the garden spots of Michigan, and their luxuriant orchards are bending under their loads of luscious fruits that can scarcely be equalled in the world. So true is it that the poet has said:

"We climb on stepping stones of our dead selves to nobler things."

It is not my purpose in this address to attempt to give any history of the early settlement of this county, nor yet of the individual pioneers who settled it. That has already been done so much better than I could do it, by some of your own citizens before your county pioneer society and the State Pioneer Association, that it would be both unnecessary and unseemly. But it is difficult to separate the history of a community from the history of the state of which it forms a part; and in order to get the proper setting for our log cabin times in southern Michigan, we should take a glance at the history of the settlement of Michigan.

It hardly needs to be said that until after the war of the revolution Michigan was a remote wilderness, lying beyond the boundaries of civilization, with a French fur-trading post at Detroit and a fringe of settlements along the Detroit river. In 1787, the same year that the constitution was framed, the northwest territory was organized, embracing all that vast region north of the Ohio and west of Pennsylvania to the Mississippi river. The peace of 1783, which recognized the independence of the United States, conceded this territory to the new nation, and by the ordinance of 1787 congress proceeded to extend its jurisdiction and laws over it, thus commencing that career of territorial expansion which has carried us to the Pacific ocean and to the Arctic sea, and which is still progressing.

But Great Britain still retained the possession of the northwestern posts; and, as a matter of fact, though not of right, Detroit, and appurtenant thereto, Michigan, remained under the British flag until July 11, 1796—only little more than one hundred years ago, when, in accordance with Jay's treaty, the British garrison was withdrawn and the flag of the United States raised upon Michigan soil. Until 1763, when it passed from French to British control, such white population as there was in Michigan was wholly French, and consisted of Jesuit missionaries, fur traders and hunters and a few soldiers.

When the English hauled down their flag in 1796 this population had been but little changed. French soldiers had given place to English, and French fur traders had been in a measure supplanted by Scotch and some Irish.

In 1800 Ohio was set off as a territory and Michigan became a part of the territory of Indiana, under the governorship of William Henry Harrison, and so remained until June 30, 1805, when the territory of Michigan was set off by that name.

Michigan proper then consisted of all the territory west of Lake

Huron and the Detroit river and embraced between lines drawn due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie and from the same point through the center of Lake Michigan to its northern extremity and thence due north to the national boundary.

It is a singular reversal of the usual order of things that instead of Wayne county being organized out of the state or territory of Michigan, the territory and ultimately the state of Michigan was organized out of the county of Wayne.

On the 15th day of July, 1796, immediately after the surrender of the northwest posts, General St. Clair, then governor of the northwest territory, issued his proclamation by which he organized the county of Wayne, and which included the northwest part of Ohio, the northeast part of Indiana and the whole of Michigan, then embracing a part of Wisconsin, and annexed the same by a mere executive act to the United states territory northwest of the Ohio. (Territorial laws p. x.)

On the 4th of July, 1805, Governor William Hull and the judges sitting at Detroit duly organized the territory of Michigan, in accordance with the act of congress, out of what is properly known as Michigan together with that part of Wisconsin (or Ouisconsin) then appurtenant thereto.

It is a curious thing to think of Lenawee county as extending to the Mississippi river, and yet such was the case when it was set off in 1822. After Wayne county was first proclaimed in 1796, embracing all of Michigan and parts of three other states, it remained the only county in the state until 1813, and was finally re-established by order of Governor Cass in November of that year.

Monroe county came next in 1817, also by order of Governor Cass, and was followed the next year, 1818, by the counties of Mackinac and Macomb by the same authority; by Oakland in 1819, by St. Clair in 1820 and by Lenawee (from Monroe), Saginaw, Sanilac and Shiawassee (from Oakland) and Washtenaw from Wayne in 1822.

When Monroe was set off from Wayne in 1817 it extended to the western limits of Wisconsin on the Mississippi, and when Lenawee was created in 1822 from Monroe it took the same western boundary.

I had occasion some years ago, to study some of the ancient maps of Michigan in the congressional library at Washington, and I found that according to Farmer's "Map of Michigan and Ouisconsin," printed as late as 1830, the county of Michilimacinac extended from St. Mary's river westward to the Mississippi river north of St. Paul, while the county of Chippewa included all that remained between Michilimacinac county and Lake Superior westward to the Mississippi. On this same

map the county of Shiawassee extends northwest to Lake Michigan at a point north of the mouth of the Manistee river, and the township of Michilimacinac embraces all of the lower peninsula from the north line of Saginaw county to the Straits of Mackinaw.

It is doubtless known to many who hear me today that until October 29, 1829, all that territory lying westward of Lenawee, and now constituting the counties of Hillsdale, Branch, St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien, was attached to Lenawee county for judicial and taxation purposes as the township of St. Joseph.

By act of the legislative council, bearing date October 29, 1829, this territory was divided up into the counties above named, with substantially the same boundaries which they still retain. (See territorial laws.) It will appear from the foregoing that the county of Lenawee was originally a princely domain, extending pretty nearly "from the rivers unto the ends of the earth."

The laying off of the county in 1822 was by the proclamation of Governor Cass, and was an executive act only. It was on December 22, 1826, that the county was duly organized by the legislative council. It is not my purpose to further follow the political and organic development of the state or county, but rather to deal with social and industrial conditions.

We dedicate this log cabin today, because it is a type of an era and of a stage of civilization. There was nothing essentially different in the people of the log cabin times and the people of today. They were of the same stock—or rather they were of a purer and stronger stock—and they were animated by the same motives, impulses and aspirations as their descendants.

When Lenawee county was organized in 1826 the people of that day were only a decade further from the close of the revolutionary war than we are today from the close of the rebellion. Many of the men and women who came to settle southeastern Michigan were the children of revolutionary sires, and filled with the traditions and spirit of that great epoch. The emigrants who came from New England and from New York brought with them the moral and religious ideas and training of those older communities, and the same views of education and progress for their children.

The tide of immigration from Europe had not yet set in, and these log cabin people who first came into the wilderness of Lenawee were as a rule true Americans in bone and sinew, in brain and heart. The railroad had not yet made its advent, and the steamboat was in its infancy.



One could not then take an express train at Albany, or at some New England town, and be whirled along at forty or forty-five miles an hour and the next morning be set down in Monroe or Adrian. It was an undertaking that required courage, firmness and constancy to leave the old and comparatively populous east and make a new home in this then almost unbroken wilderness.

In 1820 the entire white population of the territory of Michigan was but 8,591, of which number 1,415 were inhabitants of the town of Detroit.

But a change was at hand. In 1825 the Erie canal,—also called "Clinton's ditch," was completed, and about the same time the steamboat made its appearance upon Lake Erie, and in consequence the settlement of the beautiful peninsula felt a great impulse. A steady stream of the best blood of New England and New York was pouring itself into this land of promise, so that by 1830 the census showed a white population of 31,639, and men began to talk of statehood for the new commonwealth.

It would be interesting if at this epoch one could take a birds-eye view of this lower peninsula. Let us suppose that one could have been elevated in a balloon or otherwise ten thousand feet above the spot where the capital now stands at Lansing, and with a glass sufficiently strong could take a view of the entire peninsula. He would look down on an almost unbroken forest area. He would see one of the most beautiful lands upon which the sun shone, girdled with magnificent lakes (Michigan, Huron, St. Clair and Erie), connected by the Straits of Mackinaw and the rivers St. Clair and Detroit. In the southeast he would see the Huron and the Raisin flowing toward Lake Erie through a rich agricultural region. Further north he would see the Flint and the Shiawassee, with more or less of pine along their banks, flowing toward Saginaw bay, while still further north would come into view the Saginaw, the Au Sable and the Thunder bay rivers, bordered by some of the finest pine forests in the world, making their way to the waters of Lake Huron. On the west side of the state he would see the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo, the Grand, the Muskegon and the Manistee, not to name a dozen smaller streams, their banks covered with uncounted millions of the dark evergreen pine,—a perfect mine of wealth—all flowing westward to Lake Michigan, only to sweep around the state and join the waters of the Huron and the Raisin as they enter Lake Erie upon the east.

In the southwestern part of the state he would see many small prairies and numerous "oak openings;" yet, stated in general terms, the entire state was covered with a noble forest.

Here the pioneer was to make his home, and here pursue his fortune. To bring lumber with him was impossible. Mills of any kind were remote and few—so remote as to make them of no practical value to him. Yet a home must be made out of the materials at hand. The forest itself was his only resource. The log cabin was a necessity; but the first thing was to reach his location. Having landed at Detroit or at Monroe or Toledo, the next thing was to find a trail that would conduct him as near as possible to his future home. Having reached the end of the trail which had been traveled before, then commenced the patient labor of cutting a path into the unbroken wilderness. Having “blazed the way” in advance, this work is begun. A few miles a day is the most that can be gained. Sometimes the forest is open and the ground firm, but then again it is soft and yielding and filled with undergrowth. At last the site of the home is reached; the covered wagon may serve as a sleeping place at first, or a “bough house” may be built from hemlock or cedar boughs, or in default of these of such materials as may be at hand.

Now comes the problem of a permanent abode. The spot is selected near a spring or spring brook if possible. Trees of nearly uniform size and straight bodies are selected and fallen and prepared for the walls. If there are neighbors within a few miles they are invited to assist in rolling them up and laying them in place. If not, then the ox team and the logging chain must supplement the strength of the men. The walls rise until they reach the necessary height. Then with “shooks” split out from the trunks of trees laid upon poles the roof is put on. A chimney is laid with other shooks laid in and coated with clay. The fireplace may be of stone. The chances are that brick will be unattainable. Happy is the pioneer if he have brought with him three or four single sash windows; otherwise white cotton cloth must serve to admit light and keep out the weather. The cracks between the logs are stopped with wedge-shaped chinks and plastered with clay. A rude floor is laid of thick split and hewn planks or puncheons, a crane is hung in the chimney, for in the days of which I write cook stoves were not brought by pioneers.

And now the cabin is ready to occupy. The simple and scant furniture is moved in. A “lean-to” has been built for a woodshed and wash-room, perhaps for a kitchen. If there is a “loft,” as there probably will be, it will be reached by a ladder or by long pegs driven in the logs which constitute the end of the cabin. The single room is probably divided by hanging up quilts or sheets.

In this cabin the pioneer and his wife and children set up that sacred thing which we call home. Here is his altar, here his fireside; here he

and his helpmate are to toil, here to struggle with poverty, sickness and death, until some day the victory is won and their dream of comfort is realized. And it would be strange indeed if, under these conditions, sickness and death did not come into this primitive cabin, with its hardship and imperfect protection, long before the victory was gained.

Let us think of some of the conditions of the life of these log cabin people. For the first season they must bring their provisions with them. By and by, the flour in the barrel or the meal in the box runs low. It may be ten miles to the nearest store and twice that distance to the nearest mill. Wearily the pioneer makes his way on horseback to the mill, only to find, perhaps, that it is shut down or that it has neither flour nor meal. Another long journey is necessitated. The story is told of one of the pioneers of this county who traveled thus a hundred miles to get a grist ground.

Perhaps the fire on the hearth went out, though this would not ordinarily be permitted, for the coals were carefully covered at night to be ready for the kindling of next morning's fire—but suppose it did go out. You could not then buy a dozen boxes of good matches for twenty-five cents; in fact, you could not buy them at all, and recourse must be had to the flint lock and the tinder box to start a new blaze; or if that failed, a journey must be made to some neighbors, perhaps miles away.

A child is taken sick, the chills and fever has taken hold of its frail form, or some more dreaded malady as croup or dysentery. There is no such thing as telegraphing or telephoning to town for a doctor; the telegraph and telephone have not yet come, and there is no town to which to telegraph and perhaps no doctor within ten or a dozen miles.

Death comes into the cabin. The little one has passed away or the faithful wife has yielded to the touch of disease.

There is no church near, no clergyman to be easily summoned to attend the burial service, no rosewood or broadcloth covered casket to receive the loved body. A plainly made coffin of pine, put together by some carpenter who can be reached, is the best that the wilderness affords.

But we must turn from this sad and hard side of the picture. The life of the log cabin was not all hard, and was not all sad. I presume there are many pioneers still living who look back to the log cabin times as the happiest of their lives.

They came into the new west in the days of young manhood, strong, healthy and vigorous. With them they brought the woman of their life and love. Their lot was cast in pleasant places in the beautiful

valley of the Raisin river. Roads had been built by those who came before them; the saw mill and grist mill of Wing, Evans & Brown was already in operation at Tecumseh. Friendly neighbors had already preceded them, and a goodly neighborhood was already established. The mails brought letters and papers to the postoffice which could be visited once a week. Some good and skilful woman nurse well supplied the place of the diplomaed and titled doctor of later days. Good neighbors and sometimes relatives came to the "logging bee," the clearing was quickly made, and the cabin rose almost in a day. By the coming of the first winter a considerable clearing had been made, buildings completed for man and beast, and everything prepared for a sufficiency of crops the second year. A log school house had been built, and a son or daughter of one of the settlers secured for a teacher, and the greatest of American institutions, "the district school," was doing its work.

The years went quickly by; the household grew. The older boys increased in stature and in helpfulness. An addition becomes necessary to the old log cabin. The forest has become a farm. Fields are rich with golden corn and waving grain. The roads are improved, neighbors draw nearer together, social life increases. The husking bee and the spelling school draw the young people into pleasant association. Nature has her way, and "soft eyes look love to eyes that speak again," and weddings ensue. Now the pioneers begin to see their sons and daughters settling near them, and a new generation springing up around them.

And behold they are no longer pioneers; they have "moved up out of the old house and into the new," and frame and brick dwellings of some pretensions have taken the place of the once humble log cabin. I have no doubt that some of them afterward longed for the plain simplicity and solid comfort of the old log cabin, for though rude it had its comforts. The wide open fireplace with its blazing fire of logs, made a family center and a place for evening amusements for the boys and girls which those who gather about registers in carpeted floors know nothing about. The family was kept together much more than nowadays when each member has his or her room to which they can retire.

It is quite needless, I suppose, for me to say that in this account of log cabin people I do not refer at all to the French settlements along the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, in the counties of Monroe, Wayne and Macomb, nor to a period prior to the year 1824, when the actual settlement of Lenawee county began. The picture I have drawn would apply to the period from 1824 to 1844, and to the interior of the state removed from French influence.

Your former distinguished citizen, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, has put into a few words his estimate of the condition of the Michigan settlers at the period of the admission of the state into the union in 1837. He says on page 240 of his history of Michigan:

"It was a hard life which the pioneer farmers of Michigan had come to lead. A rude log cabin for a home, and the bare necessities of life for their families contented them while they were clearing their lands; and the lessons of industry and economy would have been forced upon them by the situation, even if they had not learned them before, as most of them had. When the cheapness of land is taken into account, their farms must be deemed small, averaging perhaps a hundred and twenty acres; and hard labor and the chills and fever incident to the clearing of a new country gave them sallow complexions, and made them prematurely old. But in coming to Michigan they had calculated not so much upon their own immediate advantage as upon giving their children an opportunity to grow up with the country; and they accomplished all that they had counted upon if they could see that year by year their possessions increased in value, and could rely with confidence upon giving their children the rudiments of an education and a fair start in the world, and on being independent in their circumstances in their old age."

Such, I have no doubt, is a correct outline sketch of the lives and the motives of the early pioneers of this county, with many, if not most of whom Judge Cooley must have been acquainted.

But what was the effect of this life upon the characters of the men and the women who passed through it?

It can be safely asserted that in those early log cabin days there was little time for reading and slender means for culture of the mind. The daily paper was then wholly unknown in Michigan, and weekly newspapers were few and far between. Education was rudimentary and mostly confined to the district school, except that now and then a man who had brought considerable means with him from the east was able to send his children back to New York or New England to be schooled. Churches were few and limited to the larger villages, and the Sunday school was pretty nearly unknown during the period of which I speak. But the material of the population was good; they were like their log cabins, rough but strong and reliable.

Their struggle with the hardships of the frontier brought out many of the traits of a strong and energetic manhood. In the battle for existence they did not lose the spirit of patriotism, and when the call for volunteers came in the Black Hawk war of 1832 these men of the frontier

sprang to arms, as the men of Michigan have always done at their country's call. That they had correct ideas of the importance of education is well shown by the early establishment of the free school system, one of the best in the world, and the laying of the foundation of the great university, coeval with the birth of the state.

Out of the log cabins of Michigan have come some of the noblest men and some of the sweetest and loveliest women who have blessed the world.

It was the men, born between the years 1830 and 1840, as a rule, and many of them born in log cabins, who patriotically and gloriously carried the flag of the country from 1861 to 1865.

Such men were Woodbury of the 4th, who fell at Malvern Hill, Comstock of the 17th, who was mortally wounded close by me at Knoxville, W. Huntington Smith, who was shot through the brain at my very side at Campbell station, Captain Vreeland who died gloriously at Spottsylvania, and De Golyer who perished from wounds received at Vicksburg. And time would fail me were I to attempt to speak of all who survived the war, and yet who deserve to be kept in everlasting remembrance; of Humphrey of the 2d, the ever gallant under whom I marched in east Tennessee and in front of Petersburg; and Watts, who rose from a private in the old 1st to be captain and brevet-lieutenant colonel in the 17th for gallant and distinguished service; and Horner and Miller who were my college mates at the university; or Daniels, of the old 2d, who was wounded on the bloody 30th of July, 1864, at Petersburg. All these, and many more deserving mention, bore the commissions of the state. But these were personally known to me.

But more than all this, out of these same log cabins came many of the sons of old Lenawee who carried the muskets and marched in the rank and file. Surely it is no bad starting place which breeds such heroes as these.

And out of these same log cabins also have come the lawyers and the jurists, the teachers and the men of science, the ministers of the gospel and the educators of the press, the prosperous business men and the sterling farmers who have given Lenawee a place among the foremost counties of this splendid and progressive commonwealth.

My friends, the day of the log cabin has passed away; though now and then a sample, decrepit and decayed, remains to remind us of the former generation to whom we owe so much.

But I am of the opinion that it is a good thing once in a while to revert to those earlier days, and to the hardships which were endured

in the founding of this commonwealth, as an antidote for the discontent and the complainings of today. We have heard a vast amount within the past few years of the hard times among the farmers of Michigan.

As I have passed through your county from time to time since I taught in the old Medina academy, almost forty years ago, I have noted your fine roads, the spreading farms, the tasteful and luxurious farm-houses, the splendid school buildings, the interlacing railroads, the frequent cities and villages, the abundant supply of all the necessities of life, the ever present provision for the physical, mental, moral and religious training of the young, the multitudinous newspapers and magazines which find their way into almost every home, the improved farm implements for planting, cultivating, reaping, raking and binding, the fine stock of every kind, horses, cattle and sheep,—the easy riding carriages, fit for a prince, and all the other comforts and luxuries of modern civilization; and then I contrast all this with the log cabin times of sixty years ago, and I ask myself, “do these men who whine and complain realize that they are living in the greatest age of the world and in one of the fairest parts of the grandest country upon which God’s sun shines, and are reaping the fruits of the hardships and sacrifices of the pioneers?”

You do well, my friends, to erect this reminder of the former days and to call to mind the heroic men and women who here battled with the savage forest, and perhaps with savage beasts, in order to lay here the firm foundations of the stable society which you now enjoy.

It is for this that your pioneer and historical society is organized; to gather into a common reservoir and preserve the materials of history, and to hand down to the future the authentic accounts of the redemption of this part of the state from its original wild condition, and the memoirs of the men and women who laid here the foundations of our present greatness and prosperity. There still linger among us a few of the very early pioneers, and many who came in before the state was admitted to the union, almost sixty-two years ago. But they cannot long be with us, and the society should be diligent while they remain in putting in permanent and imperishable form the annals of the opening up and settlement of Lenawee county.

It has been my good fortune to personally know some of your public men, and to be more or less associated with them. I had the honor to know John J. Adam, whose sketch of the early settlement of the county I have perused with deep interest, and in preparing which he rendered a great service to this community. I was regent of the University of

Michigan when he personally presented to it his diploma from Glasgow university; also a small Greek volume which he informed us he received as a prize as a member of the same Greek class with William E. Gladstone, the greatest Englishman of this century.

With Thomas M. Cooley I became acquainted just forty years ago. In the law school and in the supreme court I formed a regard for his learning and for his clear logical mind that amounted almost to veneration. For the six years that I was on the board of regents I was associated with Judge Cooley, who was then dean of the law school. His recent decease induces me to add here a word of my judgment of the value of his services to the state and to the nation at large. I believe that it is the common opinion of the bench and bar of Michigan that Judge Cooley was the greatest exponent of the law that our commonwealth has ever possessed. While he was not a native of this state, yet he was not twenty years old when he came to this county from New York. It was here that he studied his profession and was admitted to the bar. Here he commenced practice, and held numerous minor offices. From here forty-one years ago he was called into the service of the state as compiler of the laws of 1857. The next year he was appointed reporter of the supreme court, and in 1859 went to Ann Arbor as professor of law in the newly established law school, and in 1864 he began that remarkable career upon the supreme bench, which gave him a reputation as wide as the nation. Many of his opinions are lasting monuments of close study, tireless industry and vigorous intellect. This work he continued for a period of twenty-one years, during which time he was also lecturer at the law school and dean of the faculty, and at the same time he was writing works which might well have engrossed the entire time and ability of a more than ordinarily able man.

It was his study in connection with the famous "Salem case," which was a turning point in the history of our state, that probably suggested to him to write his work on the law of taxation.

But his first great work, the one on constitutional limitations, is doubtless the one on which his fame chiefly rests as a law writer, and which gave him a fame that is more than national. Not alone in the north, but in the south as well, was Judge Cooley known and honored. About fifteen years since he delivered an address before the state bar association of South Carolina, and a banquet was given in his honor. I have heard members of congress from South Carolina, who were also distinguished lawyers, speak in the very highest terms of Judge Cooley, and wish that he might sit upon the supreme bench of the United States.



He was an intense worker, his application was wonderful, and the number of hours a day he habitually worked was something extraordinary. He once said to me, when he was on the interstate commerce commission, that for twenty years he had not averaged five hours sleep out of the twenty-four. This alone would account for his final breakdown.

"Though dead he yet speaketh." He speaks daily and almost hourly in every court in this state. He speaks in the lives of the thousands of men who have passed under his instruction in the university. He speaks through millions of people whose views of law and of constitutional limitations have been largely shaped by his writings.

When these writings are all collected it will be found that he has published more voluminously than any other man whom our state has developed.

Judge Cooley was essentially a conservative. In his earlier years he was a Jeffersonian democrat, and the opinions then formed in regard to the nature of the federal constitution, and the relations of the states to the union, were not changed, but rather strengthened by the great events of the war and the constitutional amendments. No one can read the final chapter of his history of Michigan without being convinced that he still retained his early convictions of the value of local self-government and the great evils of too much centralization in our form of government.

It will be a lasting honor to the county of Lenawee that such a man was developed as one of its early citizens.

There is one other name associated with Adrian and Lenawee county of which I desire to speak, and that is the name of Colonel W. Huntington Smith. From the month of July, 1862, to the day of his death, November 16, 1863, we were daily associated as officers of the 20th Michigan Infantry. At the time that regiment was recruited he was deputy auditor general of his state, Langdon G. Berry being the auditor general. Colonel Smith enlisted in Company A, of that regiment and was its first captain. When the regiment was mustered into the United States service he became its major and I its senior captain. Soon after we reached the front Major Smith became lieutenant colonel and I was promoted to his former rank.

During his connection with the regiment we passed through the campaigns of Virginia of 1862, Kentucky 1863, and the Mississippi campaign of Vicksburg and Jackson and a large part of the campaign of east Tennessee. From March, 1863, to his death he was in command of the regiment almost continuously.

Colonel Smith was a man of sterling qualities and a soldier above reproach. On the field he knew no fear, but discharged every duty unfalteringly, and in the camp he commanded the respect and obedience of his regiment. It was at the battle of Campbell Station, east Tennessee, that while steadying his men with the utmost coolness his brain was pierced by the bullet of a rebel sharpshooter, and without a pang or a groan he fell from his saddle into my arms dead in an instant of time. Here in his old home I wish to bear witness to his gallantry as a soldier and his high character as a patriot.

But it is long since time that I should close this address lest I altogether weary your patience.

Here and now we dedicate this cabin, built in memory of the stalwart men and women who have made it an honored type of the virtues which they exemplified,—courage, constancy, industry and frugality. Long may it stand to remind you and the rising generation of the struggle, the sacrifice and the final triumph of the "log cabin people," and the heroism of "log cabin times."

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### THE PAST AND PRESENT.

(Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Eaton County Pioneer Society in Charlotte, June, 1895.)

BY EDWARD W. BARBER.

[By request of the Committee of Historians, a copy of the above mentioned address, which was printed in the Charlotte papers the next week after its delivery, has been furnished for publication and preservation in the Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The meeting that year was one of the largest ever held. Henry J. Martin, of Vermontville, was president; Mrs. Emma Shepherd, of Charlotte, secretary, and Mrs. Warren Davis, of Carmel, treasurer.]

Mr. President, Members of the Eaton County Pioneer Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Everything is changed. Ox yokes, and ox "gads," axes, axe-helves, beetles and wedges for rail splitting, hand-spikes for log rolling, harrows made from the crotches of trees, sap-troughs and neck-yokes have disappeared as implements of husbandry in Eaton county. Log houses with shake roofing and split flooring, a vast improvement on the bark wigwams of the native Indians, are of the past. There is more civilization, and with it, bolts and bars, locks and keys, vices and crimes, than when the buckskin string, tied to the wooden latch on the inside, and passing through a hole in the door to the outside, was pulled to

gain admission to houses and their hospitality. And there was less schooling, but no lack of education in the object lessons of nature and life, during the pioneer period. For those who do right, life is better worth living now than then; while for those whose bent is evil the opportunities for wrong are greater now.

Pioneering has been the leading business of the American people for nearly three centuries, while for our Aryan race it dates back many more centuries to the plains of central Asia when the westward movement began. With our immediate ancestors it commenced on the Atlantic coast early in the seventeenth century and really culminated with the rush to Oklahoma. Hereafter the work of filling in the vacant spaces left by the westward-moving pioneers will be carried on, but for them there are now no regions to subdue. Columbus, the Cavaliers and the Pilgrim Fathers led the pioneer march to the new world. The Spaniard's quest was for gold, and failed; the Anglo-Saxon sought a home with larger freedom of opportunity, and his efforts were crowned with success. Columbus dreamed of a new route to the fabled wealth of the Indies across the pathless ocean, and in 1492 discovered this hemisphere. In 1607 the first bold colony was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 in Massachusetts. The pioneer is a man with a purpose. It may be the love of adventure, to better his condition, to make a new home, or to achieve an ideal, in an age of persecution seeking religious liberty, or an aversion to social shams may impel him to seek the more agreeable environment of a new country.

One event, the construction of the Erie canal from the Hudson river to the great lakes in the heart of the continent—a wonderful enterprise for the time, born of the brain of DeWitt Clinton, commenced in 1817 and opened in 1825—had more to do with the settlement of the west than any other one thing. Prior thereto the movement of population was mostly down the Ohio river, and more than a hundred years ago a Yankee settlement was made at Marietta, Ohio. The canal opened a water route for the agricultural pioneer to the fertile regions of the northwest. When begun and opened railroads were still in the womb of thought. Michigan made early provision for canals, and one, the Clinton and Kalamazoo, from Lake St. Clair to Lake Michigan, was surveyed along the Thornapple river through this county, and the work of construction on the eastern end commenced.

Slowly, for two centuries, after the first pioneering on the Atlantic coast, settlements moved westward. Land was the attraction, as from it all sustenance and wealth primarily come. Farmers must produce a

surplus before any other class can contrive to live. Old world problems were impossible in the new world so long as there was plenty of land farther west for the children of the east to occupy. So the movement has gone on until the orient is brought face to face with the occident on the shores of the Pacific, and also with the industrial problems of the oldest extant civilization. Then, suddenly, this country ceased to be an asylum for the oppressed of all nations.

Rapidly this country has been overrun in recent years. Old fashioned pioneering is ended. The present decade, with new social and industrial conditions, growing out of the absorption of the land and production by machinery, marks the distinct beginning of new problems for the American people to solve. With the close of the century new questions are becoming both real and troublesome. To prevent hunger and misery in the midst of plenty exalts the problem of distribution above that of production. We have taxed to produce, shall we tax to distribute? Better give freedom for everybody to all natural opportunities.

These new conditions the pioneers knew nothing about. New occasions bring new duties and necessitate new lines of thought. Political questions give way to social questions. Except as to historical sequence and personal identity there is but little in the present that survives the past. Civilization has increased artificial wants and intensified the selfish struggle to gratify them. It is in some respects an inhuman and unchristian struggle. Many are crushed into the slums under its fierce competitions. But civilization dies at the top. When the upper classes are no longer recruited and re-invigorated from the hard-fisted and hard-headed yeomanry—such stuff as pioneers are made of—the end of progress is not far away.

Young men of the present day, you can form no adequate idea of the self-sacrificing life of the pioneers. All is changed. Going to mill from Oneida to Pontiac, as did Robert Nixon, or from Vermontville to Climax for a load of wheat, having it ground into flour at Verona, spending a full week to make the round trip, and bringing the first material for bread into the "colony" as did Roger W. Griswold, were events of a bygone era. Fetching the first mail on foot through the woods from Bellevue to Charlotte, as did Captain James W. Hickok, cannot be repeated. The pluck of such men as Amos Hamlin, Samuel Hamlin, Amos Spicer and Pierpont E. Spicer of Eaton Rapids, the soft-fingered workers of the present know nothing about. The "chips" of those days came from the forest. No railroads, telegraphs, telephones, or local newspapers, only weekly mails to a few favored localities, and yet more was known

about the farms of Reuben Fitzgerald in Bellevue, of Thomas Scott in Walton, of Jesse Hart in Brookfield, of George Y. Cowan in Hamlin, of John E. Clark in Eaton Rapids, of James Southworth in Eaton, of Gordon B. Griffin in Carmel, of Phineas S. Spaulding in Kalamo, of Oren Dickinson in Vermontville, of Eri A. Green in Chester, of John Higby in Benton, of Nathan Pray in Windsor, of John Nixon in Delta, of John and Charles Strange in Oneida, of Henry A. Moyer in Roxand, and of Willis Barnum in Sunfield, than is known concerning them throughout the county today.

The early settlers, who, nearly six decades ago, laid the foundations of civilized society in an unbroken wilderness, except a very few whose silver hairs and feeble footsteps indicate that earth's journey is nearly ended, have joined the innumerable throng on the other shore. You and I, my friends, have a common recollection of many of them, and cherish a common anticipation and hope of meeting, and knowing and greeting them in a more real and permanent and glorious world than this. In the other life they are our pioneers.

Open the back door and let the mental vision traverse a period of half a century. It was great to have been a pioneer. The name itself is the synonym for almost three hundred years of western progress. We have reason to be proud of our inheritance. I have named some of the pioneers whose labors and sacrifices we commemorate. At Bellevue the first settlement was made, and such names as Avery, Bond, Evans, Follett, Hoyt, Hinman, Hunsiker and Woodbury come to mind; in Kalamo the Bowens, Gridleys, Herrings, Roberts and Stebbins; in Vermontville, Barber, Browning, Church, Fairfield, Fuller, Griswold, Gates, Martin, Mears, McCotter, Merrill, Norton, Robinson and Squier; in Sunfield, Chatfield, Dow, Nead and Wells; in Roxand, Boyer, McCargar and Vanhouten; in Chester, Allen, Jordan, Rich, Wheaton and Williams; in Carmel, Dunn, Ells, Lacey, Morey, Sears and Taft; in Walton, Butterfield, Hockinberry, Mott and Salisbury; in Brookfield, Sherman, Page, McArthur, Whipple and Williams; in Eaton, Butler, Childs, Frink and Freeman; in Benton, Claffin, Hovey, Potter, Taggart and Verplank; in Oneida, Preston, Nixon, Nichols, DeGraff, Kent; in Delta, Ingersoll, Hayden and Nixon; in Windsor, Carman, Cunningham and Hull; in Eaton Rapids, Knight, King, Horace Hamlin, Johnson, and William Montgomery; in Hamlin, John Montgomery, David B. Hamlin, and Wolcott. With the early village of Charlotte the names of Burns, Flora, Gale, Hall, Johnstone, Johnson, Millett, Munson, Reznor, Rice and Shaw are closely associated; and when Olivet is mentioned we think of Hos-

ford, Green and Ely, but the name of no pioneer, for heroic sacrifice and persistent effort in laying the sure foundation of an independent college for higher education, towers above that of Father J. J. Shipherd. The pioneer lawyer was Martin S. Brackett of Bellevue; the pioneer member of legislature was Daniel Barber of Vermontville, in 1840, now in his 96th year; the pioneer settled minister was Rev. Sylvester Cochrane at Vermontville; the pioneer boy was the late Isaac E. C. Hickok of Charlotte, born in Walton; and the oldest living pioneer is Samuel Herring, in his 99th year, whose tavern in Kalama was as noted a place for rest and refreshment fifty-nine years ago as is any hostelry in the county now.

As Tourgee says of the men of the south, these and others, our pioneers, were "kingly men." Yet the tenderest were the bravest. Heroic women bore their full share of privations and hardships of pioneer life with courage and hope. They made the homes enjoyable and life worth living.

"For love must needs be more than knowledge."

The experiences and actualities of pioneer life cannot be reproduced in words or anything the present affords. It was an education. While it is desirable for everyone to have all the education obtainable for the full enjoyment of books, nature and life, it seems to me, that if a young man, I would rather live the pioneer days over again for their educative effect and rich later memories, than to have a four years' course in the state university. For the real struggle of life one learned more that was of value in making up the mental and moral fibre of manhood during the pioneer life than could be acquired in any other way. Luxuries, not hardships, enervate. It takes a great deal of discipline, independent thought and self-reliance to make a well developed man.

The closer to nature the young are nurtured the better. Hence it is that on the healthy hills of the country, or in the humble homes of poverty, the world's greatest leaders are born. Neither brain nor brawn are products of urban life. Annually from the farm migrate thousands upon thousand to the cities to restore their weakened vitality, and to be in turn sacrificed on the altars of a rapacious civilization. It is a costly process; still society pays the price; and when it stops decline begins. As the blessings of the gods were once to be had only by lavish sacrifices on their altars, so, now, the boasted blessings of civilization are secured only by the sacrifice of human beings in the fierce competitions of city life. The blessings of the present are born of the agonies of the past.

With all the hardships incident to a new country, the pioneers were more contented than people are at the present time. They had many annoyances and few conveniences. There were mosquitoes and smudges at night, poison sumach and massasaugas in the swamps, stumps and roots that made plowing provocative of various forms of profanity, snow sifting through roofs in winter and covering beds and floors; but all the time there was progress in sight and hope ahead. Coonskins and black salts were plentier than cash and store clothes. There has always been a strange prejudice in this country against money enough to do business easily, and there was little else in those days save wild cat and stump-tail currency. Yet all the time labor cheerily swung the axe, forests disappeared, and babies that were rocked in sap troughs were growing up to girlhood and boyhood. Above all else there was the luxury of sleep, healthier and sounder than any that comes in later and more luxurious years. One-third of life in sound sleep is unalloyed happiness. "Sleep hath its own world." The outward faculties are in repose, and when awakening may catch conscious glimpses of thought from the mystic and mysterious realm of dreams.

The beginning of Eaton county was contemporaneous with the railway era of modern times. July 4, 1828, the next day after I was born, the great highway known as the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was commenced. In August, 1830, the Mohawk & Hudson railroad from Albany to Schenectady was begun; in October, 1831, it was carrying 387 passengers a day, and in 1832, a locomotive with a load of eight tons traveled it at a rate of thirty miles an hour. In 1831, the first land was located in Oneida in this county. The steam railway marks the commencement of a new era for the world. From the beginning of the christian era until then the Sabbath day's journey had not changed; but now, that hippogriff of modern civilization, the iron horse, having had a half-dozen pathways prepared across the continent, awakening the mountain solitudes to a new life, is penetrating Asia and Africa, bringing new economic problems to the fore for solution. National isolation is no longer possible.

None of the earliest settlers traveled any of the distance from their eastern homes to Michigan by rail. The usual method was by the Erie canal through New York, by steamboat on Lake Erie, and thence by horse or ox power to their destination; and, if there was no delay, three weeks afforded time enough for the journey from New England to Eaton county, a trip that can now be made in thirty hours.

Was life less worth living then? In those days men had time to

think. Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and Benton belonged to that era; there was more patriotism and less commercialism than there is now; the over-shadowing question relating not to dollars, but to life, liberty, law and government.

Glance at some of the features of the olden times, fifty to sixty years ago. Men had time to live and die in their own homes; they slept in their own beds; the epoch of haste had not come; the saddle was the emblem of speed; brain and brawn were united in the same person; the toiler was a thinker; we were a nation of hand workers; domestic or household industries were the rule; a day's journey was a short distance; the highways were the chief avenues of transportation; no house had a sewing machine, but nearly all were full of children; the canvas-covered wagon was the ark of progress; the turnpike was the leading artery of trade; the stage coach was a swift inland means of travel; there was not a mower or harvester in existence; the land was lighted by tallow candles after nightfall; butter and eggs were unmarketable thirty miles from the place of production; the steam sawmill had not begun to devour the forests; the owner of half a section of land was the foremost citizen; the spinning wheel hummed the tune of prosperity in every thrifty farmer's home; from east to west was the pilgrimage of a life time; from north to south was a voyage of discovery; and no one ever dreamed that the screech of the locomotive would destroy the glamour of Palestine, and that the land speculator would invade Jerusalem. Fifty-one years ago, May 27, 1844, the telegraph was first brought into practical use between Washington and Baltimore, and in 1848, when in the Expounder printing office at Marshall, it was one of the attractions of the time to go out along the railroad line, watch the pole setting and wire stretching, learn what insulation meant, and there was much wonderment as to how an unseen streak of lightning could carry news along the iron wire. One of the early dispatches I recall, the first one that ever announced in southern Michigan the nomination of a candidate for president, said that General Lewis Cass had received the democratic nomination on May 22, 1848.

Less than a hundred years ago our country was bounded on the west by the Mississippi, and that portion east of the great river was comparatively unsettled. Jefferson's Louisiana purchase in 1803, and the Mexican war in 1847 gave us the vast area that stretches from the river to the Pacific ocean. About forty years ago the policy of giving land to settlers free of cost was adopted in order to increase the population. "The state wants people, not land," said Governor Wisner of Michigan,



in 1857. We were getting into a hurry. The nation had a great patrimony and was in extravagant haste to get rid of it. Really, the speculator wanted it. Railroads were given an area six times as large as the state of Michigan, and foreign syndicates were allowed to take all the land they wanted. Thirty years sufficed to dispose of nearly all that was worth having. So new economic problems have come, that never troubled the pioneers, before the public mind is prepared to meet them.

Down to the present, when there was a surplus of labor in the eastern states, and factories closed because of over production, western movements of population to new land took place, and the congestion of the labor market was prevented. This is ended. The government has no more valuable lands to give away, and the time is at hand when the homestead will be prized as the one sure source of livelihood for the toiling millions. With all of our aggregate wealth and bigness fewer children are born with silver spoons in their mouths in the United States than in England. Administrations come and go, but the general conditions of life and tendencies of the people do not change. Legislation helps or hinders a little, as a rule hinders the most; but the forces of nature and human thought continue to operate, day and night, in sunshine and storm, and are stronger than governmental agencies. Less government would be better. All the time there is progression or retrogression. Nothing is stationary. Thought is alert for good or evil. Methods of fifty and a hundred years ago are obsolete. In the economic realm, on one side are great combinations of capital, and on the other side the great army of producers. Capital gathers its harvest from productive labor. These new conditions bring problems of government up for consideration that never vexed the minds of our ancestors. The mail service of the middle of this century would paralyze present business interests. No one can think of it as carried on by a great corporation. So the telegraph, the telephone, the express business, can be conducted at less cost to the people, through the agency of the organized postal service, than by prevalent methods. Productive labor, mainly that of the farms, has to pay the \$50,000 annual salary of the president of the New York Central railroad, as it surely pays the salary of the president of the United States and all other national, state and local expenses. What is produced bears every burden.

Let labor produce only enough for its own existence—no surplus from farm or factory—and the incomes of the Vanderbilts and the Astors would dry up, and the three million dollars a year paid to the royal family of England would cease. Famine may come to millions of sub-

jects, and yet the royal tribute they pay is the same. At the best, labor's share of production is little; if any, more than a living. Its surplus furnishes business to the railways, which strive to earn dividends on six billion dollars of bogus capital. Banks gather their earnings from the same surplus. Interest, rent and taxes are met from the same source. The ship of war on the ocean, the pay of armies and navies, productive labor builds and earns—in the far away mine and forest, on the farm and in the factory—and even money itself gets its value from labor. It is a commodity before the fiat of government makes it money. Pity that, today, the servant has become the master—that the tool of trade is manipulated for the oppression of labor, its creator. Capital is soulless. Its owner may or may not be.

When the time came, in the progress of events and the evolution of a nobler ethical sentiment among the people, in 1861, that capital could no longer own the labor of the south, and buy and sell the laborers as chattels are bought and sold, it rebelled against the government and sought to establish a nation on the corner-stone of human slavery. The contest had a superficial political aspect, but at the bottom of it was a struggle of greedy capital to own labor as well as its product, even if there was the slightest taint of African blood under a whitened skin. In different form, in principle the same, the struggle continues. Slave capital controlled the government and dictated presidents once, as corporation capital does now, but labor has the ballot. Scarcely a man from New England in congress represents humanity, but a combination of selfish interests. Capital would exploit productive labor in the mail service, the same as it does in the transportation service, if it owned and controlled the carrying of the mails. It would levy tribute upon isolated communities as a condition precedent to giving them a weekly mail. In our present railway transportation \$600,000,000 a year, is unnecessary because extra salaries and expenses could be saved to productive labor under government control. No such problems, the solution of which has a direct bearing upon the welfare of humanity, troubled the minds of the pioneers half a century ago, for the conditions of which they are a product did not then exist; but they are coming, coming—they are here—and should be studied rationally and intelligently, as citizens and not as partisans, so that their solution shall result in the greatest good to all the people.

A grand movement has commenced. Our pioneer ancestors cannot save us. Each generation must work out its own salvation. In municipal government we are far behind European countries. Our idea

of diluted responsibility works badly in practice. We need a system that will render all officers responsible to all the people for whom they act. This would abolish the government of cities by wards, of counties by towns, of the state by districts, and would provide for proportional representation and the referendum. The tyranny of majorities is worse than the tyranny of one man, as a dagger cannot remedy it. We need governmental control of monopolies for the benefit of the people, instead of control of government by monopolies for their own benefit. We need a purer atmosphere at the ballot box, such as will come from the enfranchisement of women; and, above all else, we need a religion that shall recognize in practice as well as in theory the universal brotherhood of humanity. Politically we are not highly civilized, or we would not make private opinion a bar to intelligence and integrity from public service. The political club is an improvement on the war club of a barbaric era, and while its action is less brutal its underlying motive is no less selfish.

But there is no occasion for despair. Man is capable of splendid achievements; he is still mounting upward; and so long as there is progress there is hope. A divinity that dwells within shapes his destiny, and he moves slowly but surely along the upward path of evolution. Even a degenerate nation cannot destroy, though it may retard, progress. For the first time in the world's history no nation on earth recognizes or upholds slavery. The growth of the ethical spirit has abolished it. So other evils will disappear. Steam and electricity are demonstrating the unity of commercial interests and the solidarity of humanity. No people have a monopoly of thought, as the great parliament of religions held in Chicago, the real metropolis of the new world, only two years ago, abundantly proved. It could not have been held at an earlier date and have been successful. "Ideas rule the world." They are about to enter China and awaken it from the slumber of centuries. The public conscience is not dead. Rev. Dr. Parkhurst aroused it in New York. It needs a few burning coals from the altar of truth in Michigan. People who think alike should act together and not let divisions or party, or sect keep them apart. Fusion for God and humanity is required. The dawn of a better day flecks the horizon with rays of hope. In this fast receding century, fortunately there is a growing demand for purer government, for better legislation, more faithful public servants, broader minded citizens, unshackled opportunity, truer and more ethical education, and equal rights to all; and you, men of the farms and factories, who suffer most from bad government and selfish partisan legislation—from ignorance led by greed—should take the lead

in the forward movement. Prosperity and morality are inseparable; values are moral as well as material; selfishness is immoral and unjust; goodness alone is eternal, and is at the same time the sure salvation and true grandeur of men and nations. Believed and lived, it will destroy the germs of evil and kindle into active, vigorous and majestic power an ennobling love of liberty and integrity, which, enjoined with a lofty altruism, will drive present evils into the darkness and obscurity of oblivion. Women! upon you devolves a full share of the work required for physical, political, social and moral reformation.

To make the most and best of life is plain human duty. The pioneers of this county had no other purpose when they came here than to engage in agriculture. The doctor, the minister, the blacksmith, the shoemaker, the wagonmaker, the tavernkeeper, the lawyer, the merchant, came with the planting and growth of villages, but the original productive industry was farming. To this end they cleared the forests, opened the roads, planted orchards, helped each other at logging bees and house and barn raisings—taking time every four years for hot and harmful quarrels over politics. As they were born to their beliefs they held them tenaciously. Every village aspired to be an important manufacturing center, even though the only natural advantage was hardwood forests. Industrial centralization, now taking place the world over, was not foreseen. There is no hope of success for factories in rural districts with no natural advantages of water power, coal deposits, raw material, cheap labor and concentrated capital. This is fortunate, as land is worth more in counties where there are no factory towns. Cheapness of transportation has overcome the advantage of nearness to markets, and it costs less to take a bushel of wheat from New York to Liverpool than it does to haul it from the west line of Carmel to Charlotte. Values are moral, and the character of a large modern factory population lowers the price of land. Then the process of industrial centralization cannot be overcome. In 1870 there were nearly 3,000 woolen mills in the United States and in 1890 only about 1,400. Half of them have gone to the wall. Small industries are of the past.

Agriculture was the first industry of the county, and events over which we have no control are making it almost the sole industry again. More and more it must become the chief occupation. Fortunately there is no better farming county in all respects in the state. To those who prefer the stimulating vices of the cities, and but few would if rightly born and educated, this may not be an attractive outlook, nevertheless it is not without compensations. To the development of agriculture

along new lines the best thought and work should be directed. With a strong soil, rolling surface, patches of original forest, improved roads lined with fruit bearing and nut bearing trees, with windbreaks for houses and barns, this county can be made one of the most attractive and valuable portions of the northwest, and the work itself will have a healthful, refining moral influence. Every town and school district should have definite plans for tree planting and beautifying the face of nature. Community of interest is ample motive and cordial co-operation the means of accomplishment. Such action would make every acre more valuable. As an investment it would pay. As the cultivation of the true spirit of brotherhood it would be priceless.

A treeless region becomes barren and unproductive. Make the homes more pleasant and the county would be as well known as some cities are for their beautiful shade trees. Young men of the third generation, for we of the second are passing down the sunset slope, this is work for you to plan and prosecute. Education that leads away from out-door work not one in fifty has any use for. With true progress the number of educated persons who can live on the vices and crimes of humanity must diminish. No more railroads are needed, no new factories will be built, but beautifying the landscape, increasing the fertility of the soil, prizing the higher utilities of life, attending farmers' institutes, producing better crops, growing the best cattle, sheep and swine, and making life better worth living should be the end and aim of future effort.

You will find enemies, potato bugs and politicians, national and state legislation, but with intelligence and judgment you can protect yourselves from them. Conditions will grow no better so long as men care more for party than they do for industry, integrity and morality, and neglect the welfare of the road district, the school district and the town in which they live. Human nature, with its old brute inheritance, which genuine progress tends to overcome, is the same in all parties and in all sects. With rivalries, hatreds and prejudices eliminated, there is little left save a common humanity, a common life, and a common destiny. It is useless for me to talk here unless a thought can be set agoing that has regenerative power. In all the universe there is but one true principle—the golden rule. Golden rule religion, golden rule politics, golden rule industry, these are social needs. Brought into daily life and conduct, courts and jails would be abolished, rum holes would not exist, health would be contagious, happiness supplant misery, and a practical millenium dawn upon earth.

Not an evil, a wrong, a vice, a curse exists that is not the creation of human selfishness. Society creates crime, the criminal executes it.

Law should not in any way countenance things that are evil, though the world will never be reformed by legislation. You might as well look into a pit that is bottomless for uplifting moral influences as to Lansing or Washington. There is but one way: "Cease to do evil, learn to do well." It ought to be a disgrace to be sick, as it is a disgrace to get drunk or rob a hen roost, for it is evidence of an ignorant or wilful violation of the laws of life; and ignorant or wilful the penalty is the same; for to every act in the vast universe of mind and matter, spiritual and physical, is knit an inevitable sequence of pleasure or pain. Not alone of the present life, but as a result of past lives, men reap as they have sown.

This law runs through all nature. The people of any town can make it a better place to live in, and others can not do it for them. Where property is safe every acre is worth more. Furthermore, the sense of beauty, such as finds gratification in attractive landscapes, trees, groves, orchards, flowers, and pleasant homes, increase wealth. Wealth is ideal as well as real. Something might be done in every rural community by intelligent co-operation and mutual effort, and all would feel better and be better. Life is not so much ennobled by getting as by using. A selfish use of wealth is demoralizing. Dives nor Jay Gould are worthy examples. Highest type of humanity was the son of man who had not where to lay his head. The art of living in this prolific land has not been practiced so much as the habit of wasting. True wealth consists less in ownership than in enjoyment. However much one may absorb, no man can create much wealth. With scattered villages, pleasant landscape, air uncontaminated by factory smoke, good roads, there is no section of country with worthier possibilities than Eaton county. Nature has done its part, the rest depends upon man.

People envy the great landlord, and fancy how delightful it must be to own a large estate. Every acre more than is needed for comfort adds to care. With our fertile soil all taken up, with labor saving machinery taking the place of wage earners, the land problem must be considered. It furnishes the only sure employment for labor. Great estates are a great evil. Emerson says, "if you own land, the land owns you." This is preferable to human ownership. Property often makes of man a slave. It may impoverish his soul. In the sense of enjoyment, have we not all thousands of acres, which we cannot sell, yet are our own, whoever may work them, if we will only look them over and enjoy them. The woods, the hills, the valleys, the highways, the tints of the forest and hues of the sky, are ours for use and enjoyment. All ought to help in

making nature more enjoyable. Altruism broadens while egoism narrows character. The thought comes to mind of summer strolls through the woods around Charlotte, with my old friend Ellzey Hayden, gathering ferns and flowers, holding communion with nature and converse with each other. All in all, was there ever a worthier citizen or truer friend? Owning Zelotus Searles' woods north of the city would have added nothing to the pleasure they afforded, although they produced neither locusts nor wild honey. We might all be great landed proprietors, if we could only live more rationally. What we lack is not land, but the power of enjoyment, and that would increase by putting more effort into work of public utility and beauty.

The pioneers have finished their labors on earth. They toiled more for others than for themselves. Their successors have an opportunity to make this region attractive and desirable. There are no more Dakotas and Oklahomas to furnish cheap land for new pioneers. Work for the good of all is not labor lost. The altruistic citizen is nobler than the selfish curmudgeon. Each individual life is merely a part of universal life. Dropping to a lower plane, the time is not far distant, in this cycling age, when, with good roads, pleasant scenery, highways bordered with trees, wholesome food, people of the cities will seek the healthy hills of such a beautiful country as this might be made for summer rest and rational recreation. In some European countries land owners and communities have lined the highways with fruit and nut bearing trees, which the laws carefully protect. Those who find the useful and the beautiful in the country will remember it and advertise it; and, really, that which makes life truly beautiful is the most useful. The time and money that are worse than wasted in politics would suffice to do all the work.

Seventeen years ago it was a pleasure to me to deliver an address at the annual meeting of this pioneer society. Dr. Gardner T. Rand, who always took a deep interest in its meetings, was president. Swiftly the years have passed since then. I see but few of the old familiar faces. Gone, gone from mortal sight, are nearly all of the pioneers. Peace to their ashes, rest to their souls. Blessed are the departed pioneers. And now

"So live that when thy summons comes to join  
The innumerable caravan that moves  
To the pale realms of shade, where each shall take  
His chamber in the silent halls of death.  
Thou go not, like the quarry slave at night,  
Scourged to his dungeon, but, sustained and soothed  
By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave  
Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

## AUGUSTUS BREVOORT WOODWARD.

BY C. M. BURTON.

The late Henry Allen Cheney, in an article on the supreme court of Michigan, thus epitomizes the life of Judge Woodward:

"By all accounts the jurisprudence of Michigan in her territorial days was much enlivened by the eccentricities of her first chief justice. This was Augustus Brevoort Woodward, who left his surname to the principal avenue of Detroit and his ineffable mark upon that city in the concentric scheme on which he laid it out; it was he also who drafted the act for the establishment of a university which he called the Catholopistemiad of Michigania, and which was to have thirteen professorships, whereof one was to be the Didaxum of Anthropoglossica and was to embrace, the act said, all the Epistemum relating to language. He was a marvel of personal untidiness even among pioneers and his imperious will was such that no mortal man could get along with him unless he submitted to it. He was chief justice from 1805 to 1823; and during the British occupation of Detroit in 1813 he was Proctor's secretary in civil matters, but he bullied Proctor as he had previously bullied Hull. His associates were Frederick Bates and John Griffin, both of Virginia. Bates, who was an older brother of Lincoln's attorney general, resigned in a year or two and went to Missouri where he afterwards became governor. Griffin, who had formerly been a judge in the Indiana territory and had asked to be transferred to Michigan, was Woodward's drudge until both resigned in 1823."

This is the man whose life and work and eccentricities we will attempt to detail for those who are patient enough to follow our words.

It is not known when or where he was born. Judge Campbell, in his history of Michigan, states that he thinks he was born in New York, while other authorities give the probable location of his birth as the state of Pennsylvania. In his first official appointment as judge of the territorial court his residence is given as Washington.

No matter when or where he was born he received a good classical education and appeared eager on all occasions to display his knowledge. This anxiety to impress his attainments in the law and in the classics upon his hearers led him to be overbearing and certainly obnoxious to

<sup>1</sup> Green Bay, 2-377.



nearly all with whom he came in contact. Apparently he was a friend of Jefferson, though the friendship may have existed on his side alone.

There are many letters on miscellaneous topics addressed by him to Jefferson and Madison in the government archives, and while the aggressive and overbearing character of the judge is displayed in nearly all of his writings, they are omitted from these letters. To that extent he might be considered a "time server" for it was to the president that he had constantly to look to remain in office. He could be courteous and affable if occasion required it.<sup>2</sup>

It has been said that he was untidy in his personal appearance, even to excess. It is very probable that this is a fact. His life in Detroit was among a frontier people who were not, at that time, overly cleanly themselves and if he was so untidy as to call the attention of his neighbors to that fact, he must have been filthy indeed. We are assured that he drank liquor to some extent, more than was usual even in his day; that he was not very punctual in the payment of his debts;<sup>3</sup> that he occasionally quarreled with the citizen whom he could not control, and that he continually quarreled with Governor Hull who was the presiding member of the legislative body as it then existed. He apparently had very little respect for Judge Griffin, one of his associates, and he continually bullied him and controlled him to his own liking. He never married. This may have been because he found no lady who was willing to risk her life and happiness by a union with him, or it may have been because he found no one that he liked sufficiently well to make the partner of his life. He certainly was quite attentive to the ladies in general and to certain of them in particular, for in letters to him and from him frequent mention is made of different young ladies of Detroit society.

Now that we have pointed out some of the social characteristics of the judge, we will see what he did. He studied law somewhere and went to Washington as early as 1799 and probably even earlier than that. One of the main topics of discussion then was the political status of the District of Columbia and in the discussions on this point Judge Woodward took a leading part. He contended that the district was to be entitled to the privileges of representation in both houses of congress in the same manner as a sovereign state and he put his arguments before

<sup>2</sup> C. C. Trowbridge in Mich. Pioneer Col., 1-378.

<sup>3</sup> The Detroit Gazette of November 15, 1822, contains the following, an extract from an open letter addressed to Judge Woodward: "In your religious, your moral, political and social character we see no bud of promise to flatter us with the hope that any latent virtue may be found. The portals of your narrow, selfish soul are as firmly barred against every generous or noble sentiment as the dark cave of Cerberus. You are literally without a friend. No diagnosing is your character in every point of view, that it is really a matter of curious speculation how or by what strange fatality such a man should have been palmed upon this territory."

the public in the form of a series of pamphlets, to which he signed himself Epaminondas. At least eight, and possibly more, of these pamphlets were issued from time to time, the eighth being dated at Alexandria, January 3, 1802.

In all probability these writings were called to the attention of the president and other officials, for if these officers were not otherwise provided with them Mr. Woodward would never have permitted such an opportunity to slip past him, to make his name known to those in authority.

In 1803 he prepared and published "A representation of the case of Oliver Pollock" and used this, in the form of a pamphlet, to urge upon congress the payment of certain demands of Pollock for compensation for services and property used in behalf of the United States in the revolution.

Oliver Pollock, once wealthy, had become impoverished by using his means to aid the government during the war and the government, neglecting his claims as it had those of Robert Morris, seemed willing to permit the patriot to die in a debtors' prison rather than undertake to do him justice. His petition to congress to repay him for his moneys advanced to aid in the expedition of General George Rogers Clark, and for his services throughout the war, was presented to congress by Woodward and received universal attention. Woodward himself became well known in congress because of his services and writings on this subject.

Early in January, 1805, congress passed an act dividing the territory of Indiana into two separate governments and organizing the territory of Michigan and on the 26th of the following February the president appointed William Hull to be governor, Stanley Griswold secretary, Frederick Bates to be one of the judges and Augustus B. Woodward, of the territory of Columbia, to be another of the judges of said territory of Michigan, and the appointments were confirmed on the first of March.

By the terms of the act establishing the territory, the government thereof was not to commence until July 1, 1805, and the new officers attempted to be at their posts at that time.

The second judge (Frederick Bates) was at Detroit at the appointed time as was also Judge Woodward, and the governor and secretary arrived on the very day, so that the territory was launched on its career without unnecessary delay. What appeared then to be a dire calamity, but which in the end proved to be a great benefit, occurred to the little frontier post of Detroit but a few days previous to the inauguration of

its new government. On the 11th day of June, 1805, a fire broke out within the village enclosure and every building, both public and private, was destroyed, with the exception of possibly one or two, and when the new officers arrived they found only the smoking ruins of a prosperous village and the citizens dispersed or living in tents on the public grounds or within the fort. The destruction of both dwellings and the personal property of the inhabitants was complete.

From the time of the founding of Detroit by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac on the 24th of July, 1701, till the conflagration on June 11, 1805, the entire village was crowded into a small space not exceeding in area three or four ordinary sized village squares. The streets were few in number and exceedingly narrow, from fifteen to eighteen feet. The houses were built close together and were very small and uncomfortable. Around the entire village there was erected a palisade of pickets of small trees, one end buried deep enough in the ground to be difficult of removal and extending above the ground ten to fifteen feet. On the northerly side of the village and connected with it by these rows of pickets, was the fort—Fort Lernoult or Fort Shelby—which overlooked the village and now stood in good need in taking within its enclosure many of the houseless citizens.

It occurred to the newly arrived governor and judges that it would be much better to lay out a new town on a larger scale, than to permit the old town to be rebuilt in its former location and style. In the organization of the territory the legislative body was to consist of the governor and three judges and they were empowered to select and adopt for the government of the territory such laws as they thought proper, from the laws in force in any of the thirteen original states, but here was a situation of affairs that was totally unforeseen and for which no adequate remedy was then in the hands of the governor and judges. Titles to lands were not yet settled, but it was expected that congress would soon take hold of the matter and pass proper laws for the purpose of quieting conflicting land claims. In the case of the burned village each former owner was supposed to have a fairly good title to his possessions and if the government now undertook to deprive him of his rights it would amount to sequestration. The inhabitants themselves felt that it would not do to rebuild on the old site and in the old form. The governor and judges moving hastily in the matter, laid out a temporary plan for a village and requested the old lot owners to take up and improve lots in the new plan, warning them that good titles could not be obtained for the new lots but at the same time assuring them that

every effort would be made, at the next session of congress, to perfect the titles in those who would accept the new plan and conform to it.

Judge Woodward himself drew up the plan for the new village and he drew it on a plan to indicate that he expected the village would grow to become a city of some size. It is said that he borrowed his idea of the plan of the place from his knowledge of the city of Washington and that within the leaves of an old pocket memorandum, still in existence, he had sketched a plan of the federal city in order to apply it to the new Detroit which they were proposing to lay out.

On the third of August, Governor Hull made a report to the secretary of state of the work so far accomplished at Detroit. It would be hardly necessary to give the contents of this report here, but one portion will suffice to show the feeling then existing between the governor and the judge. In after years the feeling between them was very bitter, but that it was not so at this time, is evinced by the following excerpt from that report: "I owe it," the governor writes, "to Judge Woodward to say that I received great assistance from his talents, his zeal and industry." In October, 1805, Hull was suddenly called to Boston and departed with the promise to be in Washington at the opening of congress, and Woodward left with him, but proceeded at once to lay matters before congress at the earliest opportunity. The main object in the visit to Washington was to have the proper acts passed by congress to allow the laying out of the new village and the disposal of the lands in the new plat for the purpose of aiding sufferers in the burned town.

The report of the governor and presiding judge of the situation of affairs at Detroit was presented to the president, and by him submitted to congress on the 23d day of December. Efforts to hasten the proceedings before congress seemed futile and the entire winter of 1805-6 was passed without any action being taken.<sup>4</sup> In April of 1806 Judge Woodward personally memorialized congress to hasten its action as affairs in the territory were in a critical situation. A bill was introduced and became a law on the 21st of April, 1806, entitled "An act to provide for the adjustment of titles of land in the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, and for other purposes." Briefly stated, this act permitted the governor and judges, as a land board, to lay out a new village and to plat and dispose of the lots within it, and gave 10,000 acres adjoining the village to be disposed of by the same officials, the proceeds to be used in building a court house and jail. This was the beginning of the building of Detroit in its present form and the real foundation stone for the name and fame of Woodward.

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<sup>4</sup> Annals of Congress, 1806, p. 239.

Detroit was the largest settlement in the west—the center of the fur trade and of the Indian trade in general—the depot for the distribution of Indian presents and the home of many very wealthy traders in frontier supplies. It had no bank, though some of the larger commercial houses did a sort of banking business. In the summer of 1806 a number of Boston capitalists undertook to establish a bank, as it was felt that one was needed, and a petition signed by Russell Sturges, Henry Bass, Jr., Benjamin Wheeler, Samuel Coverly, Nathaniel Parker and Barzillai Holmes was presented to the governor and judges asking permission to organize and open a bank of issue, with a capital of from \$80,000 to \$400,000. Such an enterprise was much greater than the importance of the village warranted, but it was contended that the vast fur trade of the west was of sufficient importance to warrant such an enterprise, though the probable reason was that the promoters thought they could issue their bills and dispose of them in the east and that many of them would never return to be redeemed. So great was the assurance that the bank would receive its charter, that the company was organized, banking house erected and cashier appointed before the charter was granted.<sup>5</sup> This petition though dated March 31, was not presented to the governor and judges until September 6, and on the 15th of September, 1806,<sup>6</sup> an act was passed by them incorporating the president, directors and company of the bank of Detroit with a capital of \$1,000,000, and Judge Woodward was appointed its president and William Flanigan of Boston, cashier. There was a great deal of feeling created against the judge and even against the law itself and the act was disapproved by congress March 3, 1807.<sup>7</sup>

It would seem that there were other forces at work to prevent the success of this bank than those of Detroit alone. There was no good reason why a bank should not be established and be a success if properly managed. The largest stockholders were from Boston and the east, and the bill to destroy the bank was introduced and championed by Josiah Quincy, who at the time was a member of the house of representatives from Boston. Michigan territory itself was a stockholder in the bank, and consequently the entire people were interested in the success of the institution. At the time of the disposal of the act by congress, there

<sup>5</sup> Gov. Alpheus Felch in Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 2, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Terr. Laws, vol. 4, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Annals of Congress, 1806-7, p. 1287.

Judge Woodward held only one share of stock, while other prominent Detroit people held from 10 to 100 shares each, as James May, John Griffin, Solomon Sibley, James Henry, Samuel T. Dixon, William Hull, William Brown, Elijah Brush, Robert and James Abbott and others, but the majority of the stock was owned by eastern parties, William Flanigan, Dudley B. Bradstreet, Nathaniel Parker, Andrew Dexter, Jr., and others. Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 4, p. 575.

Pioneer Col., vol. 8, p. 571.

was no especial dislike of Woodward and the act incorporating the bank was signed by Hull, Woodward and Bates, and it appears from Hull's report in 1807 that they were all actuated by the best impulses for the government, in passing the act of incorporation.\* The act of congress annulled the act of the territorial legislature and left the affairs of the bank hanging in the air, for there was no provision made for the appointment of a receiver, or the winding up of the bank's business. Woodward continued to act as president and some of the business of the bank continued to be carried on for some time. Discontent against Woodward continued to grow, and during his temporary absence in 1808 the governor and the remaining judges sought to make various alterations, in existing laws and to pass new laws that were not very pleasant to Woodward and would scarcely have passed if he had been present. Mr. William Flanigan, a friend of Woodward's and cashier of the bank, kept watch of the legislature during the judge's absence and it is from his letters, still preserved, that we ascertain what was being done at this time. The governor and judges determined that they were the legislative body; that any three members would form a quorum and that when a bare quorum was present any two members should constitute a majority. That thereafter it should not be necessary for the members to sign laws as they were passed, but that each act should be signed by the governor or presiding officer, and be attested by the secretary.†

The governor undertook to change the entire form of the town by laying it out anew, with street lines at right angles to each other, and he employed a surveyor, James McCloskey, to make a new plan. Mr. Flanigan writes that "Judge Griffin is little more than a cipher in our little government. He votes correctly, I believe, says but little; in fact it is not worth his while to utter much, for there appears a determination to carry everything against him." The people were called to consider, in a mass meeting, the proposed changes in the plans of the village and decided against it. The most important act passed during the judge's absence was a bill introduced by Judge James Witherell entitled, "An act for the punishment of crimes and misdemeanors." This act contained forty-eight sections, of which two were aimed directly at Judge Woodward. The two sections referred to prohibited any person from issuing or circulating bank bills unauthorized by the legislature, and fixed a heavy penalty for violation of the law. This act became operative on the 9th day of December, 1808, and was so clearly directed

\* Hull's letter to Madison.

† Terr. Laws, vol. 4, p. 21.

against Judge Woodward that he was frequently reminded of it in all the subsequent years of his residence in Detroit.<sup>10</sup>

As a judicial officer the important and the ludicrous affairs of the territory were assigned to him for determination. Sometimes he acted vindictive, even absurd, and again he made decisions that were exceedingly just, though unpopular.

One of the important matters that disturbed the new territory was the question of slavery. The ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in all the territories northwest of the Ohio river. The treaty of 1794 with England provided that the property of British residents in the territory should be respected and protected. Slaves, both Panis (Indian) and negroes, were held in Detroit and in Sandwich on the Canadian side of the Detroit river. The Canadian slaves were constantly escaping, crossing the river and claiming protection of our laws.<sup>11</sup>

In 1807, a wealthy Englishman living at Sandwich,<sup>12</sup> Richard Pattinson (or Patterson, as his name appears in the records) had two negro slaves, Jane and Joseph, who crossed the river and remained in Detroit. Pattinson, through his relative and attorney, Elijah Brush, applied for a warrant to apprehend these slaves in order to return them to their owner. The circumstances of the case and the social standing of the complainant gave the matter more than usual prominence and in his opinion Judge Woodward devoted much time and study to the subject. The decision of the case against Mr. Pattinson and Mr. Brush and in favor of two unknown negroes, who had no representative in court to plead their cause, was somewhat unpopular, though certainly conformable to law. The motion of Brush was denied upon the ground that our laws regarded no property in slaves except in the case of British settlers as provided in the treaty of 1794, and the negroes were permitted to remain here, free.

<sup>10</sup> The Flanigan letters are printed in the Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Soc. publications, vol. 653, page 12, and I have an unpublished letter from Judge Griffin to Judge Woodward of nearly the same date, Dec. 1, 1808, wherein he refers to this act as follows: "Judge Witherell has brought in a bill of 45 sections establishing a new penal code. Whippings, imprisonments and fines dance in gaudy orgies throughout the whole composition." He copies, entire, the section concerning the issuing of money by the bank, and winds up his letter as follows: "Permit me to borrow your Asiatic expression, 'May the angel of happiness cover you with his wings.' Let me hear in your next, something of your favorites, the Loves and Graces, and candidly tell me, if candidly you will, whose livery do you wear at present." (Campbell papers, vol. 1, p. 213.)

<sup>11</sup> Judge Woodward had, at an early date, anticipated that trouble would arise over the question of the desertion of these slaves, and had tried to prevent it by passing laws with that end in view. In 1807 he wrote as follows: "There is, however, one point on which the inhabitants on different sides of the river are at variance. This is the desertion of the slaves. I expect complaints will be made, on this hand, by the British minister. I do not approve the temper, principles and conduct of the inhabitants of this side on that subject. I thought something ought to be done to check it. I introduced a bill providing for the restoration of deserters from the service of his Britannic Majesty. There was a section providing for slaves. The Governor was opposed to the restoration of deserters, but in favor of the restoration of slaves. Mr. Griffin was opposed to both. So the bill was lost."

Mich. Pioneer Soc. Col., vol. 12, p. 500.

<sup>12</sup> Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 12, p. 518.

At about the same time four other negroes, Elizabeth, James, Scipio and Peter Dennison, applied for a writ of habeas corpus to be freed from the restraint of their owner, Catherine Tucker.<sup>13</sup> It seems that Mrs. Tucker lived in Detroit and that she was a British subject and was one of those to whom the treaty of 1794 guaranteed protection in person and property. The laws of Canada granted freedom to all slaves after a certain period of servitude which in this case had not yet elapsed. Judge Woodward drew a distinction between this case and that of Pattinson and refused to grant the writ, authorizing the retention of the slaves under the provisions of the treaty. These decisions attracted considerable attention throughout the "state," and were commented on by many of the leading papers at that time.

Judge Bates left Detroit in 1806 and from that time until the appointment and arrival of Judge James Witherell in 1808, the legislative affairs were in the hands of Governor Hull and Judges Woodward and Griffin, and the judicial matters were managed by Woodward and Griffin. As has been before stated, Griffin was a tool of Woodward, and Hull and Woodward rarely agreed. The result was that Woodward, in fact, controlled both branches of government so long as the legislative body consisted of Hull, Woodward and Griffin; but upon the advent of Judge Witherell a new aspect was put upon the situation. Judge Witherell was an exceptionally fair judge and his opinion had more than ordinary weight with all parties, for it soon came to be understood that he would join neither faction in their quarrels but would always cast his vote on the side of propriety and justice.

Witherell did not come to Detroit as judge till 1808 and at that time the quarrel between the other members of the legislative body was in full blast. On the last day of December, 1806, Woodward drew up and submitted to the legislative board a series of resolutions, some of which reflected savagely upon the governor. While the entire matter was obnoxious to the governor, there were some portions that neither he nor the other members could refuse to pass, when the time came for discussing them. I will only mention here one of these resolutions, as that one will be again referred to in its proper place. The preamble and resolution are as follows:

"Whereas, The means of information, both with respect to the present and rising generation are deplorably deficient in this territory; and

"Whereas, It is one of the permanent articles of compact between the original states and the people of this territory, that religion, morality

<sup>13</sup>Mich. Pioneer Col., vol. 42, p. 511.



and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged, therefore,

“Resolved, That it is expedient to provide by law for the establishment of one or more seminaries of learning in the territory of Michigan.”

This was the beginning of the University of Michigan and if the resolution had not been coupled with other matters offensive to Governor Hull it would probably have been adopted and acted upon at once, so far as the situation of the territory would then permit.

The other portions of the series so severely reflected upon the conduct of the governor that he used his efforts to prevent the adoption of the resolutions and actually prevented their receipt by the legislative board until 1807 and then succeeded in having them referred to himself as a committee, and his report was not given until near the end of the year 1808.<sup>14</sup> The report only served to widen the breach already existing between the two branches of government and entailed more trouble upon the new territory. The governor's report upon that portion of the original resolution relative to education, is as follows: “Nothing can be more laudable, nothing more useful. It will advance the future prosperity of the country and the happiness of millions yet unborn. To effectuate so important a measure every means in our power ought to be exerted; our labors ought never to cease until the object is accomplished.”

This report was submitted to the legislative body in the absence of Judge Woodward, who was then in Washington.

Gabriel Richard, the priest of St. Anne, and prospective bishop of a new diocese to include Detroit, was also then in Washington probably on business connected with his church, but also engaged in obtaining the materials for establishing the first printing press in Michigan. A friendship had already sprung up between Richard and Woodward, brought about, probably, partly by their similar tastes for study, for it is hardly conceivable that any bond union of a religious nature could exist between them. Richard returned to Detroit with his printing press and Woodward proceeded to New York, where, in the early spring, he wrote and procured the publication of a paper on “The Consideration for the Open Trade with China,” and urged his views upon congress by this pamphlet<sup>15</sup> and by personal application on the subject to the president. But the times were not propitious for the extension of trade with

<sup>14</sup>Pioneer Soc. Col., vol. 12, p. 406.

<sup>15</sup>Calendar of State Papers, vol. 4, p. 737.

foreign countries when we were, by law, closing our ports and enjoining our merchants from trading with our greatest customer, Great Britain, and no efforts of Judge Woodward, however strenuous, could avail much. The idea that he could see the value of such trade was indicative of greater foresight than had been displayed in that direction up to this time. If it had been proposed in a moment of expected peace it would have been listened to by congress with greater respect, but now everyone thought the government was on the verge of war, and extensions of commerce were not to be considered.

There were other personal quarrels of Hull and Woodward that made lively times for them both, and entertainment for the citizens. A man named John Gentle applied for a donation lot in the new village plat and his application was refused by the land board (which consisted of the governor and judges) on the ground that he was not a citizen of the United States. Gentle subsequently applied to the same officers, sitting in their judicial capacity, to be made a citizen of the United States and his application was refused because he had not resided in the territory a sufficient length of time to be entitled to naturalization papers. Thoroughly angered Gentle wrote a series of articles and had them published in the Pittsburgh (Commonwealth) severely reflecting on both Hull and Woodward. Gentle was indicted for the libel on the judge. The judge himself appeared as complaining witness, prosecutor and judge. Gentle pleaded the truth of the published article, but he was not permitted to produce the proof on the occasion, and he was found guilty and compelled to desist from further letter writing of this nature.

About the same time Captain John Whipple, on the 25th of June, 1808, meeting the judge on one of the streets in the village, began to upbraid him for rendering a decision, which Whipple thought unjust, and in which some of his relatives were interested. The discussion on the subject grew pretty warm and Whipple told the judge "that he was a damned rascal, with other violent language and gestures." Woodward returned to the court room and had issued a warrant for Whipple's arrest, returnable before himself. Whipple was bound over to the next term of court.

On another occasion in 1811, one Whitmore Knaggs committed an assault upon the judge. He also was brought before the judge for trial and sentence. In none of these cases does it appear that the judge inflicted any severe penalty, but the parties and the community looked upon it as a travesty upon justice that the complaining witness could act as a judge in his own case. The instances given show that Woodward considered himself "a law unto himself" wherever he was interested.

The printing press was introduced in Michigan by the Rev. Gabriel Richard, the priest of St. Anne, in 1809. Previous to this the giving of public notice of any important event was by means of proclamations written by hand and posted in three or four of the public places in the village, but now that these notices could be more readily given by having them printed in the form of hand bills or broadsides, they were more frequently made than before. No newspaper was issued until some years later than this. An attempt was made in 1809, by the publication of the "Michigan Essay," but it is not certain that more than one number was issued. The first, or almost the first, use that the new press was put to, was the printing of a presentment of Governor Hull by the grand jury at the September session, 1809, for remitting the fine imposed upon John Whipple for calling Judge Woodward "a damned rascal."<sup>16</sup> The same grand jury presented Judge Witherell for making an improper expenditure of public money; complained of the two sections of the act above referred to for prohibiting illegal banking, and struck all the judges in complaining of their continued absence from the territory.

Within a few days after the publication of this series of indictments, a public meeting was called to take into consideration the change in form of government. Judge Woodward presided at this meeting and was subsequently chairman of the committee appointed to carry out the resolutions adopted.<sup>17</sup> This committee was composed of the following, then well known citizens of the place: Augustus B. Woodward, George Hoffman, James Henry, Solomon Sibley and James May. They were directed to inquire into the different forms of territorial government in the United States and at the adjourned meeting held October 16, 1809, they made their report<sup>18</sup> and the meeting then resolved that it was expedient to alter the present form of government and to substitute for it a form in which there should be two bodies elected annually by the people, to consist of five and three members respectively. These two bodies were to enact the necessary laws for the territory and the executive was to have a qualified veto. It was not explained whether the governor was to be elected or appointed by the president. They also deemed it expedient that the territory should be represented in congress by a delegate to be elected by the people. Woodward and all the other members of the committee were re-appointed with instructions

<sup>16</sup> *Mss.*, vol. 101, Burton Library *mss.*

<sup>17</sup> *Mss.*, vol. 101, Burton Library *mss.*

<sup>18</sup> *Mich. Pioneer Soc. Col.*, vol. 12, p. 548, vol. 6, p. 248.

This report was also printed in *American Register*.

to give publicity to these resolutions and to urge them upon the attention of congress.

If these resolutions had borne fruit at once, Woodward would have been stripped of a large portion of his powers, for he would henceforth be a judicial officer only and he would no longer be able to pass laws as a legislator that he was subsequently to pass upon as a judge. It is difficult to explain his position in this affair, otherwise, than by supposing that he was working entirely for what he thought to be the best interests of the territory, for he was certainly working against his own private interests as a judge and legislator. The project submitted to congress met opposition there, for a remonstrance from a number of Detroit's citizens was filed at the same time and the matter never reached beyond the point of being laid on the table. In later years it must have been a matter of satisfaction for the judge to find that his early ideas of the proper form of government were adopted, for in 1819, the territory was permitted to elect a delegate to congress and in 1824 a legislative council was elected, and the office of governor continued to be filled by presidential appointment, so long as the territorial form of government existed.

The feasibility of digging a canal through New York, to connect Lake Erie with the Hudson, had been discussed for some time and in 1811 the New York legislature passed an act on the subject entitled "An act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of the state" and sent a copy of the act to the governor and judges of Michigan territory, asking the co-operation of the territory, and aid by an appropriation. The matter was referred to Judge Woodward to investigate and make report. Willing in this case, as in most others, to take the opposite view from most other people, he reported that it was better that one canal be constructed around Niagara and another around the falls of Oswego.<sup>19</sup> His learned and unique discussion of the subject is printed in full in Niles Register and the editor apologizes for permitting the article to be inserted in full "not on account of any peculiar opinion advanced, but for the interesting speculations introduced." Woodward argued that the course of the river and lakes was the natural course for commerce and that Montreal was the natural market for the lake regions. That Canada will ultimately become a part of the United States and that in the event of war with England and the United States, Canada would at once fall under the rule of the latter country. He argued that if it became

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<sup>19</sup> Niles Reg., vol. 6, p. 137.

desirable to make the canal through New York, the better way would be first, to make the canal around Niagara and then pass boats down Lake Ontario and up the Oswego river by converting that river into a canal. He proposed that an extensive city from four to twelve miles square be laid out at the mouth of the Niagara river. "Let a mound be made, at the head of Grand Isle, on the American arm of the river, with a sluice. Let a mound be made at the bottom of Grand Isle without a sluice; solid, substantial and durable. Let a canal be drawn from this last point, sixty feet wide, excepting immediately at the locks, twenty feet deep, with all necessary lockage, whatever size or expense, directly into the river Niagara, entering it between the city before mentioned and Lewiston." This was his scheme; peculiar of the man and indicative of his methods of reasoning. The report contains many ideas further advanced than his day and is well worth reading by those who wish to study in detail the eccentricity of the judge. Probably more attention, in later years, would have been paid to this report if the railroad had not taken the place of the canal.

The feeling of uneasiness was growing at Detroit over the impending quarrel between the United States and Great Britain. The Indians in the neighborhood of the city were moving in suspicious ways and there was uncertainty and alarm among the citizens. Governor Hull was absent during the latter part of the year 1811 and the fore part of 1812 and the secretary, Reuben Attwater, was acting governor. Reviews and parades of the territorial militia were held at various places in the territory and at various times during the fall and winter of 1811-12. Attempts were made to reorganize the militia and proclamations or general orders were repeatedly issued to warn the people to be on their guard and to be ready for an emergency.<sup>29</sup> The battle of Tippecanoe was heralded as the forerunner of a general Indian uprising that the acting governor was attempting to prepare for. All citizens were expected to assist in the defense if called upon. "The Honorable James Witherell, a soldier and a patriot of that struggle which burst the chains of tyranny and caused the star of liberty to shine resplendent on the western hemisphere," and one of the judges of the supreme court, was appointed lieutenant colonel commandant of the legionary corps and a commission was issued to him on December 9, 1811.

It was a matter of quite as great importance that the civil affairs of the community should be attended to, as that the military affairs should be properly conducted. On the 16th of August, 1812, Hull ignominiously

<sup>29</sup> *Mass. General order of Acting Governor Attwater. Papers and Records of the Territories.*

surrendered Detroit to the British and the news of the catastrophe struck the nation dumb with astonishment. Hull and Witherell were taken prisoners of war and were taken eastward to Montreal. Griffin was absent and Woodward alone, remained in Detroit as the representative of the territory. General Proctor, as civil governor under the terms of the capitulation, ordered the supreme court to convene at the council house in Detroit early in February, 1813, and Woodward, as the only remaining judge was expected to preside.<sup>21</sup>

But there were other duties that he performed in his capacity as representative of the American cause, taking upon himself the duty of looking after the interests of all American citizens, he complained to Proctor of the actions of the British troops both in maltreating their captives and in not protecting those captured by the Indians in the service of Great Britain and he pointed out acts of cruelty of the Indians, that should be taken into consideration and the repetition of them prevented.<sup>22</sup> These complaints were duly examined by Proctor and proofs of their truth produced before him. He laid down the laws of nations to Proctor as he did the laws of the territory in his decisions on civil matters in his courts, and he eventually placed all of his correspondence and proofs before congress. He attempted to bully Proctor, as he had tried to cow Hull and Griffin, and feeling that he could do little for the Americans because of his bickerings and quarrelings with the British general, he gave notice that he should leave Detroit. On the 6th of January, 1813, a petition of citizens was drawn up and circulated for signatures, protesting against his leaving and petitioning him to remain. The petition sets forth that "at a time when the services of the several officers of this government were most to be desired and would alone have conduced to the great interest of the inhabitants, it is not a little surprising to see that to a man (to the exception of yourself) they have unadvisedly left their respective posts, the interest of their country, and of course the inhabitants of the territory, in a state bordering almost upon anarchy and confusion, and that too, after having been officially notified by the proclamation of the conquering general that the laws of the territory would be continued in force, and that the civil administration thereof would not for the present be interrupted, or sustain any material change. We feel it a duty incumbent upon us to acknowledge that your stay in the country since the capitulation, together with your

<sup>21</sup> He reported to the Secretary, James Monroe, that he executed no official acts in the capacity of a judge. (Mss. letter in Dept. of State.) This term of court was not held, but was adjourned until a later date, and before the adjourned day came Woodward had left the territory.

<sup>22</sup>Niles Register, vol. 4, p. 91.

exertions in favor of its inhabitants, has contributed in an eminent degree towards the preservation of their lives, their liberty and the property of perhaps every individual in the territory."<sup>23</sup> He was implored to remain and share, with his fellow citizens, the dangers of the times. In reply to the petition Woodward consented to remain.

It was but a few days after the petition was presented to him that he was called upon to exercise his power in attempting to save the life of one of his fellow citizens, Whitmore Knaggs, whose name has been already mentioned. Knaggs was a resident of the district and owner of a farm on which he lived, since then called Knaggs farm and within the present limits of the city of Detroit. He was one of the soldiers taken prisoner at the capitulation of Detroit and was paroled. Going off to the south, he joined Winchester's army and was again captured at the massacre of Frenchtown. The efforts of Judge Woodward were directed to see that Knaggs was not shot for violating his parole. Several defenses were set up by the judge; that Knaggs was ignorant of the meaning of his parole; that if he joined Harrison's or Winchester's army he was induced to violate his parole by those generals, and finally that Knaggs was not in arms at the time of his second capture, but a visitor among friends at the River Raisin (Frenchtown). He pleaded for a fair and open trial for Knaggs upon the one question only, as to his having been in arms. He pleaded long and earnestly for the life of a man who, he said, was an ignorant and turbulent man, brought up among savages among whom he was made a prisoner in early life. He succeeded in saving Knaggs's life. There is more than usual interest attached to this circumstance when it will be recalled that this same man, Knaggs, assaulted Judge Woodward and was tried and fined by the court for the assault. Woodward had not forgotten the event and relates it to General Proctor, in petitioning for his release.

In January, 1813, Proctor ordered all citizens, except those designated as Canadians, to depart from the territory of Michigan, and consternation seized the community, for nearly all would be compelled to leave behind them their families "exposed to all the casualties and evils incident to a state of war and their property at the mercy of the marauding savage." Many of the citizens had already left Detroit or had been taken away prisoners of war, but those who remained drew up a petition<sup>24</sup> to Judge Woodward setting forth their grievances and protesting against the order of banishment and praying him to intercede in their behalf

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<sup>23</sup> *Mem.*

<sup>24</sup> *Mem.*

with General Proctor. The petition itself pays a high tribute to the efforts already made by Woodward for them by stating that, "We entertain a high sense of the manly, dignified and spirited conduct of Augustus B. Woodward, whose services have heretofore been so pre-eminently useful to the inhabitants." February 4, 1813, martial law was proclaimed in the territory and feeling that he could do no further good by remaining in the country, the judge asked for a passport on the 6th of February<sup>25</sup> but his request was not at once granted. He repeated it on the 10th of the same month.<sup>26</sup> There was still some delay about granting the passport and after another request for one had been made and a personal interview had taken place between Woodward and Proctor at Sandwich, on the south side of the Detroit river, Proctor sent a note to the judge requesting his presence on the 17th inst. to discuss the matter of the massacre of American prisoners after the battle of Frenchtown. The answer to the request indicates the spirit of the judge, who thought his efforts had not been properly appreciated. The reply was directed to James Baby, senior member of his majesty's executive and legislative councils of the province of Upper-Canada, and contains the following paragraph: "I am sorry to be obliged to state that when I attended, on the thirteenth day of the present month, for a similar purpose, an intemperance of demeanor was witnessed in the commandant, which, in the transaction of business, is as unbecoming in an officer of rank as it is indecorous in the character of a gentleman; and greatly, sir, as I should wish to see a matter cleared up promptly and on the spot, which may probably become the occasion of so many painful sensations both in America and Europe, it would, notwithstanding, be with great reluctance, except under circumstances which I could not, as an individual, control, that I should wait upon any British officer for that or any other purpose unless I entertained a hope that a similar line of conduct would, in future, be declined." The affair, however, was patched up and on a second invitation he visited Proctor on the 18th and obtained a passport to go to Fort George, on the 15th of February.

Reaching Albany on his way to Washington he was requested by the citizens of that place to make public the information he had obtained regarding the employment of the Indians by the British in the war and the encouragement given the savages to perpetrate the horrible butcheries at the massacre of Frenchtown, and the many other murders, robberies and burnings throughout the country. Feeling that he was not

<sup>25</sup> *Mass.*

<sup>26</sup> *Mass. and Niles Register*, vol. 4, p. 92.



violating the confidence of government by making public his knowledge of these affairs, he gave out for publication many of the letters that had passed between himself and Proctor and copies of depositions and statements made by parties who witnessed these atrocities.<sup>27</sup> Nearly a century of peace has passed since these events transpired but the infamy of the employment of such horrid means of warfare cannot be effaced from the pages of history of the British nation.

While Woodward was undertaking to do all this thankless work for his fellow townsmen and for his government, members of congress, ignorant of his services and their value at this time, were undertaking to remove him from his office by changing the form of government.<sup>28</sup> George Poindexter, representative from Mississippi, on the 24th of November, 1812, introduced a resolution for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the expediency of repealing or modifying the act forming the territory of Michigan, and in explanation of his object stated that since the surrender of Detroit the judges had held no courts but continued to draw their salaries; that one of the judges (Witherell) was a British prisoner and another (meaning Judge Woodward) had accepted a commission under the British authority and that it was now desired to organize the government and enable the proper authority to appoint new officers who would govern the territory better than it had been in the past. He wanted to wipe off the present roll of officers and appoint others made of more sterling stuff.

It is true that no courts were held at Detroit during the period of British occupation, for there were no causes to be heard that necessitated the holding of a court. Judge Witherell was absent, a prisoner, and Judge Griffin was not in the territory. A commission as secretary to General Proctor was tendered to Judge Woodward but was declined by him for the reason, as he said, that he could not, according to the provisions of the constitution, accept it without the consent of congress. The proposal being forwarded to congress was not acted upon and the commission was therefore declined.

Woodward expressly reported to the Secretary of State, James Monroe, that no pecuniary transactions of any description were undertaken between himself and any of the functionaries of the British government.<sup>29</sup> The payment of his personal expenses by the British officials was even declined by the judge, with the explanation that he had taken an oath to support the constitution of the American government and

<sup>27</sup>Niles Register, vol. 4, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup>Annals of Congress, 1812-13, p. 105.

<sup>29</sup>Woodward's report to Monroe, Mem., dated March 22, 1813.

that there was a provision in that constitution that no person holding a trust under the United States, could receive any emolument from a foreign power.

Poindexter's motion prevailed and the committee was appointed consisting of Poindexter, Jeremiah Morrow, John M. Hyneman, Thomas Wilson and Thomas B. Cooke. It is probable that Woodward's report put a quietus to the investigation, for it does not appear that the committee made any report nor was the form of territorial government changed in Michigan for many years.<sup>30</sup> It was while Woodward was in Washington in 1813 that he proposed and advocated the adoption of a code to supersede the common law in the district of Columbia, an idea that he attempted to carry out in part, in Michigan by abolishing the laws of all foreign countries.<sup>31</sup> It was not until October, 1814, that the supreme court and the legislative body of Michigan again convened for the performance of their duties in Detroit. In the meantime Hull had been removed from his office of governor and Lewis Cass had been appointed in his place, so that the legislative body now consisted of Cass, Woodward, Witherell and Griffin. Affairs did not proceed any smoother with the new governor, than they had previous to the war. Cass was a person not to be trifled with, as Hull had been, but he sought in every way to smooth over the difficulties and did not undertake to meet them face to face.

He and Woodward seldom clashed.

William Woodbridge became secretary of the territory in 1815 and as Cass was frequently absent from the territory, Woodbridge became acting governor, and the quarrels were continued between these men as they had formerly been carried on between Hull and Woodward. As a legislative body the parties usually took sides on important subjects, Cass or Woodbridge and Witherell on one side, while Woodward and Griffin were opposed to them. In their judicial character Woodward and Griffin usually opposed Witherell. Courts were held at unseemly hours and out of the way places, with no efforts to accommodate lawyers, suitors or even themselves.

Woodward was always a student and during his absence from Detroit in 1813 and 1814 he had employed his time in preparing his work on the "Classification of the Sciences," which was published in Philadelphia in 1816. This work was evidently completed while the author was in

<sup>30</sup> From unpublished letters we know that in August, 1813, he was at Georgetown; on April 21, 1814, he was at Washington, preparing to visit Jefferson, and the next day he was at Alexandria on his way to Monticello. In August he was in Philadelphia studying the case of Eugene Aram. (Calendar of Rolla 8, p. 588).

<sup>31</sup> Terr. Laws, vol. 2, p. 1000, Sept. 10, 1810. See also Detroit Gazette of Dec. 5, 1817.

Philadelphia in the summer of that year and finished on the 31st of August. It was evidently hastily completed, for the judge says, in the preface, that "the supreme court of the territory of Michigan commences its annual session on the sixteenth day of September, and there remains barely time for the performance of the journey."

It would be unprofitable here to undertake to discuss the merits of the work. Its virtues and its faults are only to be discovered and pointed out by the student and the metaphysician. The author shows, or undertakes to show, his extensive knowledge of the ancient languages, and he continually uses uncommon and obsolete words to express his ideas, and coins new words without number to supply alleged deficiencies in our language. There is only one matter interesting to us in connection with this work. He uses the word *encatholepistemia* to denote a system of universal science. A short time after this the judge applied this word as the name for the new university that he undertook to establish in Detroit and thereby, so far as he was able, sought to enforce the teaching of universal science by this school in accordance with his plans here given. There is no doubt that the judge loved to use long words and obscure sentences, for listen to what he says:

"Acquired in laborious and painful detail, the discoveries of an individual transcended by a train of successors, the advances of this generation surpassed by those of subsequent, the language and the science of one nation engrafted upon those of others, the vast and variegated attainments of modern times accumulated upon those of ancient ages; to us, of this age, and of this country, knowledge is presented in rich and copious stores, abundant in materials, defective, principally in arrangement."<sup>22</sup>

The critic, in summing up his criticism says, "Upon the whole we think that this is a curious and not uninteresting book. However much men may differ as to the utility of his labors, we are sure that nobody will deny Mr. Woodward the praise of originality."

A book of this nature had very few readers, but those who took the pains to wade through its three hundred seventy-one pages undoubtedly studied it from the love of its subject and not for the thrilling episodes its pages contained. It cannot be found now in many libraries but its absence can scarcely be greatly missed.

The resolution offered by the judge to the legislative body in 1806, regarding the establishment of schools, has already been referred to.

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<sup>22</sup> Classification of the Sciences, p. 10.

This was the first step taken by the territorial authorities looking to popular education, though there was an act passed in 1805 "For the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the city of Detroit," by raising money by a lottery, but the act said nothing as to what disposition of the money was to be made after it was raised.<sup>23</sup>

The first move of importance in this line was the "Act concerning schools," passed February 26, 1809, which provided for maintaining public schools wherever there were a sufficient number of school children to necessitate them. The schools were to be free so far as pupils were concerned, and were to be maintained by taxation.<sup>24</sup> This followed the plan proposed by Woodward in his resolution of 1806.

Higher education received no legislative notice until in August, 1817, when a bill was introduced by Judge Woodward for the establishment of a Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania, and the bill became a law on the 26th of that month.<sup>25</sup> The date of this act corresponds very closely with the date of his "System of Universal Science" and there can be little doubt that the two were arranged and written at the same time.

The act provides that the university shall be composed of thirteen didaxum or professorships and comprise the entire field of science as laid down by the judge in his "System of Universal Science." The didactors were to be appointed by the governor and were to be paid salaries by the territory. It was the intention of the originator of this scheme to establish a college at Detroit, it was also his plan to establish other schools throughout the territory as the increase in population required the introduction of a higher education. The professors were empowered to "establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athe-neums, botanic gardens, laboratories and other useful literary and scientific institutions." Thus it was attempted to put the educational affairs of the territory in such a shape that all needful provisions for obtaining a higher education could be obtained without delay and wherever needed. The existing taxes were increased fifteen per cent to obtain the money needed to carry on such an educational affair. Lotteries were provided to obtain money to buy lands, buildings, books, apparatus and such other things as might be needed. A small sum was charged for tuition but if a student was unable to pay, and the judges of the county court, where

<sup>23</sup> 1 Terr. Laws, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> 4 Terr. Laws, p. 100.

<sup>25</sup> 2 Terr. Laws, p. 104. The original draft of this act is in the archives of the State University at Ann Arbor.

the student resided, certified to the condition of the pupil, his fees were paid by the territorial treasury.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time that the act establishing the catholepistemiad was passed there were four other laws enacted, relating to the same subject. The first was an act establishing the salary of the president of the university at \$25.00 per year and fixing the salary of the vice president at \$18.75 and of each professor at \$12.50 and each instructor and instructrix at \$25.00.<sup>27</sup> All the professorships were divided between two professors so that the entire compensation of the two was \$206.25 per year.<sup>28</sup>

The second act appropriated \$181.25 for the salaries of the president and professors for the year. The third appropriated \$200.00 for salaries of instructors and instructrices, and the fourth appropriated \$100.00 to aid in constructing buildings for the university. Another act appropriated a further sum of \$80.00 to purchase land for the university.

On the 21st day of September, 1817, Judge Woodward laid the corner stone of the first hall of the university and on the 19th day of November an act was passed appropriating \$200.00 to enclose the university building.<sup>29</sup> The subsequent history of that institution will not be looked for in this connection and the matters relating to the university have only been mentioned as they pertain to the acts of Judge Woodward. There can be no doubt that he was one of the foremost leaders in the establishment of this institution, and that he was instrumental in placing at its head the protestant minister, John Monteith, and the catholic priest, Gabriel Richard, in order to put the institution upon a popular basis and to free it from religious bias.

Another work issued by Judge Woodward in the fall of 1817 was the "Republic of Letters."

The second grade territorial government, as it was termed, was reached when the territory could be represented in congress by a delegate who should be elected by popular vote and hold office for two years. The delegate had a seat in the lower house and had the privilege of the floor but he could not cast a vote. In 1818 a bill was introduced to

<sup>26</sup> The fee for a course of lectures was \$15, classical instruction \$10 per quarter, ordinary instruction \$0 per quarter. It would appear that there was some trouble between the members of the legislative body regarding this act, and Judge Woodward drew up another bill changing the name of the corporation to "The Regents of the University of Michigan," and in some other ways altering this act and repealing it, but the new bill never became a law. The draft of this bill is with the original draft of the act.

<sup>27</sup> Terr. Laws, 2-100. It will be noticed that it was contemplated that women should be employed as teachers.

<sup>28</sup> It would seem from an act passed December 31, 1817, 3 Terr. Laws, 127, that the president was to receive \$25 per quarter and not \$25 per annum.

<sup>29</sup> The upper floor of this building was used by the Protestant congregation as a place of worship and pews were sold as in a church. Gazette, October 24, 1817.

permit Michigan to send a delegate to congress<sup>40</sup> and the bill passed without much opposition, but upon the question being submitted to a popular vote of the people, the plan was rejected in February, 1818.<sup>41</sup> Another act allowing a delegate to the territory was passed February 16, 1819.<sup>42</sup>

Woodward had for many years shown a disposition to be a chronic office seeker, but from this time forward his efforts in that direction seemed to be more determined and pronounced. He was constantly thrusting himself forward in order to obtain some office that he thought he could hold, together with his office as judge, or he was willing to surrender his present office in order to obtain another of more importance. He was a candidate for the office of delegate to congress, but was defeated at the election held in September, 1819, the successful candidate being William Woodbridge. Woodbridge already held the offices of secretary and acting governor of the territory and collector of customs, and as he did not resign any of his old offices, upon accepting the new one, complaints soon began to be heard that he was getting more than his share of public honors. Succumbing to the pressure brought to bear upon him, he resigned the office of delegate at the expiration of one year from his election and when his term was but half completed. A new election was ordered to be held in the following September (1820) and again Woodward was a candidate and again, also, he was defeated—this time by Solomon Sibley.<sup>43</sup> Again in 1821 he was a candidate and was defeated. In fact he attempted to obtain this office at every election during the remainder of his residence in Michigan and had a considerable following each time, but he never succeeded and never came so near being elected as he did in 1820.

In 1817 two young men, John P. Sheldon<sup>44</sup> and Ebenezer Reed, established a newspaper in Detroit called the Detroit Gazette and from almost the first issue of the paper the whims and eccentricities of the judges are noted for the readers of the village and those who read its columns. At first the notices were very mild in character and called attention to matters of no great moment.<sup>45</sup> Possibly the editors were somewhat afraid of the judges and of the community and did not dare to publish everything that came to hand. Anonymous letters directed

<sup>40</sup> Niles Register, 1818, pages 46 and 63.

<sup>41</sup> Gazette, February 20, 1818.

<sup>42</sup> Annals of Congress, 1819, p. 2479.

<sup>43</sup> Gazette, Sept. 22, 1820. This election was very close and Woodward carried everything except Michilimackinac. There was a contest over the legality of that district which, if it had been decided in Woodward's favor, would have elected him. Id., Oct. 27, 1820.

<sup>44</sup> Sheldon was from Rochester, N. Y.

<sup>45</sup> As that the judges did not spend all of their time in the territory or that they lacked part of the qualifications for holding the office of judge, viz., did not own 500 acres of land in the territory.

to the judges soon found their way into print and no reply was made to them. Emboldened by the apparent lack of resentment on the part of the judges, correspondents, and finally the editors, began a series of upbraidings that can scarcely be equalled in any known publication. Writers undertook to imitate the Junius letters both in style and virulence. While, perhaps, the style was deficient, nothing could exceed the bitterness of the attacks. Most of these complaints were directed against the two judges, Woodward and Griffin, but as the general impression was that Griffin was rather incompetent or listless from indolence, the attacks were much more bitter against Woodward. Probably few papers in America have been permitted to upbraid and chastise the judiciary in a more virulent manner than was employed by the Gazette in the case of these judges. Their personal character, their social habits, their quarrels on and off the bench, were all aired for the benefit of the readers of the paper.

In order to understand all the attacks made by the Gazette it is necessary to know the daily proceedings of the village and of the courts. The instances of abuse of judicial authority cited by the editors and correspondents were usually proved to the satisfaction of everyone save the judges themselves, and it appears that the judges were not permitted to make answer through the columns of the paper.\*

The tide of abuse grew stronger as time progressed. Impeachment was seriously talked of and urged upon the people and the judges were frightened, but they did not cease their quarreling nor did they do much to redeem their standing before the people. Petitions for their removal were drawn up, circulated, numerously signed and presented to congress. Another and more successful method was employed to attain the object aimed at, the removal of the obnoxious judges, and that was,

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\* One of the affairs complained of occurred in 1821 and is as follows: A grand jury having been called, a question arose as to the proper method of administering an oath to the jurors, there appearing to be no law on the statute books applicable to the case. After some discussion Judge Witherell proposed that the court adjourn until the next day without swearing the jury. An adjournment of the court was thereupon had and the same men, the three judges, immediately convened as a legislative body, passed "An act establishing forms of oath" for grand and petit jurors, "and when court convened the next day there the law was for them to act on. See 1 Terr. Laws, p. 234. An attempt of Woodward to compel the appointment of his father, John Woodward, to the office of clerk of the court is severely censured. John Woodward was an old man and not a resident of Detroit, but was then in Pennsylvania. Judge Woodward sent for him and appointed another person clerk ad interim. What would have been the result of the quarrel over this appointment can never be known, but the father died at Erie on his way to Michigan, and thus the question was settled.

The following is an item which appeared in the Gazette, Nov. 20, 1822: "A very singular question has arisen under the laws of this territory, exempting property taken on execution. This law exempts the *tools* necessary for the trade or profession of the party. Suppose now, that an execution was issued against the goods and chattels of his honor, Judge Woodward, would, or would not, his other honor, Judge Griffin, be exempted from seizure under this execution?"

Yours etc.,

SCIAWASSA.

A learned counsellor has given it as his professional opinion on this question, that Judge Griffin must be taken because the law will not exempt tools used for the purpose of fraud."

the abolition of the entire bench and the re-organization of the judicial system. The judges had held over from the date of their first appointment in 1805 under a tenure of life or good behavior, but by a new provision they were to be appointed for a term of four years and in the spring of 1824 both Judges Woodward and Griffin were dropped and their places filled by Solomon Sibley and John Hunt so that the new bench was composed of these two new names with Judge Witherell from the old list.

Apparently the people were not at all satisfied with the change. That is, they wished new judges, but they thought the ones chosen were not the best that could be obtained for the places. The very first number of the Gazette that was published after the new appointments were known contained a long tirade against the new men and spoke of them in very harsh terms.

The time set for the new judges to take their seats was not very far off and the old judges preferring not to wait out the terms of their office, resigned in March, 1824.

Woodward was a sorely disappointed man. In advertising some of his real estate for sale he intimated that he thought he had been unjustly legislated out of office, but he supposed that he could earn a living at the bar as he had done before his first appointment,<sup>47</sup> and he said that he was going to Washington to resume the practice of the law. He went to Washington but returned to Detroit within a year to perfect the sale of some of his land and again went to Washington to attempt to obtain a new appointment as judge.

It has been charged that Judge Woodward was dishonest in his judicial office and that he used his situation to improperly obtain lands and money and that he was rich when he ceased to be judge of Michigan territory. Nothing can be further from the truth. It is true that he owned a good deal of land in and about Detroit, but land was cheap and of not much value at that time, nor was it of any great value during the judge's lifetime. The law required that the judges should own quite a tract of land and he, consequently, purchased and held a good many acres of untilled and unproductive real estate. Mr. Charles Moore, in his excellent sketch of the judge's life, shows that when Mr. Woodward left Washington in 1805 he owned a considerable property there and a part of this he retained until after his removal from office in 1824 and he then went to Washington to dispose of his holdings there in order to obtain means to pay his indebted-

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<sup>47</sup> Gazette, February 21, 1824.



ness in Detroit. During the latter part of his stay in Detroit, as a judge, he was on several occasions placed under arrest for non-payment of civil debts, the manner of commencing suits at that time being by *capias*. He also owed money secured by mortgages, and proceedings to foreclose some of these mortgages were commenced shortly after he ceased to hold office. He was most emphatically "land poor." Nearly all of his lands were wild and unproductive and a source of loss rather than of profit—their value was prospective, not present.

The most valuable parcel of land he owned was the Mansion house, situated on Jefferson avenue west of the present Wayne street. This was worth \$7,500. He owned 700 or 800 acres of land on which he proposed to locate a village plat to be called Ypsilanti, including the site of the present Ypsilanti. This property was possibly worth \$1,000 at this time. Another proposed village site was on the road to Pontiac, now partly within the city limits. He proposed to call this village Woodwardville. The 900 acres he owned here was valued by him at \$18,000. Other lands owned in smaller lots were considered worth \$5,500, or a total of \$31,500. Against this there were mortgages on the Detroit property to the amount of \$4,186. This land had nearly all been taken up by the judge from the government and he had paid only the lowest price that was ever paid for such property and had held on to his purchase for years in expectation of a rise in value. If it was worth much more than he gave for it, that is not to his discredit nor does it imply that he was dishonest in acquiring it. The lands in the ten thousand acre tract were a drug on the market for years at \$1.25 per acre. He purchased more than 900 acres for \$1,800 and was now holding it at \$18,000 or thereabouts.

He was not successful in selling it for the price he put on it and his brother, John, sold it in 1833 for \$7,455.

But little more is known of the judge. After leaving Detroit he returned to Washington and shortly afterwards received the appointment of a judgeship in Florida and died in Tallahassee in the year 1827 while still filling that office.

I desire to add a few words to what I have written above, to present some facts regarding Judge Woodward, that I have discovered since the foregoing sketch was prepared. I made a careful examination of the records in the office of the register of deeds for the District of Columbia, and find the first deed to the judge was made by William Prout, March 20, 1797, and conveyed a great number of lots in the then young

city, at a valuation of \$25,000. He recited, in this deed, that he was a resident of Green Briar county, Va. (now West Va.), and I think that he was born either in that county or in Rockbridge county. At about the same time I find mention of others bearing the name of Woodward, as follows: Frances Woodward, widow of Clement Woodward, Benjamin Woodward, Mary Ann Esque (born Woodward), wife of John Esque, Amon Woodward, Francis Woodward, children of Clement Woodward, and all of Prince William's county, Va., John Woodward of Montgomery county, Maryland, and William Woodward of Washington.

At the time of the purchase by Judge Woodward, above mentioned, he gave Mr. Prout a mortgage to secure the purchase price of eight pence, Maryland money, per square foot. He was unable to pay for this land and reconveyed it to Mr. Prout July 30, 1804, for the same consideration of \$25,000. This was a short time before his appointment as judge in Michigan territory. In 1803 he was appointed ensign of infantry in the first legion of the militia of the District of Columbia, and his oath of office is dated May 3d of that year.

Mr. Charles Moore says he gave his residence as Rockbridge, Va., in 1795, and that he was admitted to the bar in Washington in 1801.

Mention has already been made of various works of which Judge Woodward was the author, but no list of them has been given. The following works are in the congressional library at Washington:

"Considerations on the Executive Government of the United States of America." 1809.

"Considerations on the government of the territory of Columbia, as they Recently Appeared in the National Intelligencer Under the Signature of Epaminondas." This was published in parts, of which eight were printed, though only six are in the congressional library. I have the two missing ones. Published 1801.

"Considerations on the Substance of the Sun." 1801.

"The Laws of Michigan." 1806.

"The Presidency of the United States." 1825.

"A Representation of the Case of Oliver Pollock." 1803.

"Supplement to the Representation of the Case of Oliver Pollock." 1803.

In addition to the above are works mentioned in my original article and the plan, mentioned by Mr. Moore, of an executive council for the president.

## MICHIGAN BIRDS THAT NEST IN OPEN MEADOWS.

BY L. WHITNEY WATKINS, MANCHESTER.

(Read before the Academy, Dec. 26, 1895. Reprinted from the first report of the Michigan Academy of Science.)

All have noticed that the places chosen by different species of wild birds for their nests are not the same. Their homes vary in location and style of architecture as much as do the characteristics of the birds themselves.

Some species choose the dark, unfrequented forest for their home, others the open field in the full glare of the sun; some of the barren cliffs of huge mountains, while others build floating rafts of mud and weeds in the marshy ponds. Again others are content to tenant perhaps the corner of a tumble down rail fence or nest in hollow trees or barns. Some nest high up in the branches of trees while others, equally shy, choose to rear their broods in bushes or upon the ground.

As the great, orchard-like trees of the oak openings were girdled and destroyed and great tracts of the heavy timbered lands cleared, the lower peninsula of Michigan became more and more similar in physical aspect to the vast grass-land prairies of the southwest. Coincident with this greatly altered environment, and continuing to the present time, was inaugurated an unsettled, unbalanced condition in our avi-fauna resulting in a great change in the relative preponderance of species.

Those inhabiting the woodlands were crowded in a short time from great areas, while species which had heretofore been fortunate in the finding of even small tracts of open land to suit their tastes, were turned loose over thousands of acres of improved land within the period of a few years.

The pileated woodpecker was pushed north to the Canadian border, disgusted with so called civilization. The wood duck found her old stub nesting sites tipped over and burned; the wild turkey her briar patches and brush pile homes destroyed. The passenger pigeon, while enjoying the grain fields and fattening thereon in place of the wild acorns and nuts, was exposed to the destructive devices of those who soon learned that fat pigeons in the markets of the east were in demand at a good price, and they were rendered practically extinct in a short time. The ruffed grouse is now confined within fenced wood lots and is often

found to wander into great cities and upon our lawns in absolute bewilderment.

Human beings have pushed their way into nearly every nook and corner of this continent and with them have been taken all the revolutionizing influences of civilization. Changes have been and are now taking place before our very eyes, in all the forms of life, as profound as any already chronicled in the great epochs of geological history. Certainly this is the age of man's absolute supremacy among the living things. He has destroyed whole species of birds and mammals and driven others to the verge of extinction; he has conquered the forests and wrought havoc with the wild flowers.

To make more plain and limit the scope of this treatise, which, of necessity must be longer than I hoped, I will include in my list only such species as I have found nesting upon the ground or in the open fields and meadows, excluding those found nesting upon the boundary fences or in the border shrubbery and brush piles or in lone trees in the open ground; also those nesting in the open marsh lands which are undrained and boggy to the extent of being unfit for hay or pasture.

As a further aid in clearness, I will separate meadows into two classes, namely, the typical upland hay field or pasture and the so called "marsh" meadow which is drained and pastured or grown to its native grasses and sedges for hay.

We will first consider the upland nesters:

The American bittern, *Botaurus lentiginosus*, is included among the Washtenaw county, telling that "a bittern had its nest in his clover my personal observation. I have never heard of a like case in connection with this species and it was to me a very interesting one.

On June 27, 1892, I received a letter from a friend in Bridgewater, Washtenaw county, telling that "a bittern had its nest in his clover field" and if I wanted the eggs to come at once. As the location was a peculiar one I lost no time and arrived to find the nest undisturbed in a small bunch of standing hay which had been skipped in mowing on its account. This nest was a mere platform, upon the ground, of the surrounding clover stems bent down with some plucked and carried to the spot. The American bittern almost invariably builds its nest either very near the border of sloughs and lakes, composed of rushes and flags made into a rude platform raised slightly above the water in the bogs and reeds, or situated in the wet marsh lands; made up of grasses and sedges. Of the many nests which I have observed, all were so situated save in this one instance. In the spring of 1892, the marshes were

flooded from continuous rains until the bogs and wet flats became sheets of open water, entirely uninhabitable by birds which usually nested therein, and this fact I will venture as a possible reason for this nest being located in the clover field upon a hill, within twenty rods of a farm house and nearly one-half mile from any water. The four or five eggs are slate color or mud color. The food of this species consists of frogs, fishes, pollywogs and grasshoppers. Arriving before or by the middle of April, it at once begins its odd and unaccountable notes which give it the name of thunder pumper and stake driver. The American bittern is probably of little economical importance and does no harm, serving to add to the picturesqueness of the water landscape as it wings its way in measured flaps over the placid waters, or stands motionless with beak pointing straight upwards, in the bog.

The Bartramian sandpiper or field plover, *Bartramia longicauda*, is a very interesting bird. Unique in its class as caring little or nothing for the proximity of water, this long-legged bird of the uplands is little noticed or generally known, on account of its stealthy measured movements. It arrives with us usually in the last week in March and builds its nest in a rather open spot such as the border of a gravelly knoll, with scarcely any material to protect the eggs. Like the killdeer it sometimes makes its nest close to the hills of growing corn upon the mellow soil. The eggs are four in number, of a brown or clay color, variously spotted with darker shades and black. The food of the upland plover consists of both seeds and insects. In the early part of the summer, it consists about equally of each; in haying time, more largely of grasshoppers, crickets, et cetera; and later on when the grain is harvested, the stubble fields are sought and the birds fatten upon the grain left on the ground. As this bird stands motionless, as is its habit, it is not easily detected owing to its close mimicry of the natural surroundings and the passerby is not aware of its presence until two sharp, quick whistles, exactly as a man would whistle to his dog if near him, arrest his attention. This is the note of alarm and as the supposed person is sought on all sides, the graceful flight of the rather large bird betrays the mistake. It is of much benefit to the farmer and of no harm.

The killdeer plover, *Agialitis vocifera*, is a very generally known species of which I need say but little. Coming to us from the south the last of February or first of March and usually remaining late in November or in some instances even all winter, it makes itself known at all times by its characteristic note, which is its name, as it runs before us upon the ground or flies round and round overhead. Nest is in thin

grass lands, in corn fields or plowed ground, preferably within a short distance of water. Eggs, four, clay colored, with black and brownish spots especially about the larger end. Food mostly of insects, some seeds and grains. A very useful bird, and does no harm.

The quail or bob white, *Colinus virginianus*, is a bird equally well known to the tiller of the soil, the sportsman and the fastidious epicure of the city café. It is said not to be a migrant because it is a winter resident wherever it is found. When the quail betakes itself to the tamarack swamp or to the farmyard for food and for protection from the cold storms that sweep the hills where it has passed the summer, it is perhaps as truly migrating as are the species which regularly recede southward on the same account. We see this same gathering together, in protected spots or where food is abundant, of many other of our winter residents. Many species go south because of cold weather while others only go because their food becomes unobtainable as in the case of most of the ducks, and the robin, crow, etc. The quail begins to whistle with the first warm days of spring, not nesting, however, until the latter part of May and usually not until June. Some nests have been found late in October or even in November, if I recall correctly reports at different times in our ornithological publications, these of course being second broods or the nests made after the first nests have been broken up. The mother remains with her brood usually until they are grown, and in the fall of the year the different coveys represent one or more entire broods, they not separating until they pair off the next April. The quail is confined, I think, in Michigan, to the lower peninsula, although there are reports which would show that it has straggled farther north. It is not found, as near as I can determine, in any numbers much north of the southern boundary of Roscommon county, the influence of the great lakes upon the isothermal lines in this state probably influencing the boundary line of their habitat on the north. In the southern tiers of counties, the quail usually nests in the hay fields, and now that the mowing machine and horse rake do nearly all the work, every nest so situated is destroyed. The farmer usually wishes to protect the quails, but the nests, which are hidden in a tuft of clover or grass, with the blades neatly pulled together overhead, defy apprehension and when once frightened away by the machines, the sitters never return. This fact of so many nests being broken up coupled with the lack of protection from the rigor of winter as the thrifty agriculturist has each and every shrub and vine cut from the fence corners and along the road side, means fully as much in its very

noticeable diminution in numbers, as does the yearly onslaught of the hunters. Various gun clubs in the state have already made efforts at restocking the country with quails by importations from Kansas and Nebraska. The eggs are usually from eighteen to twenty-five in number, pure white and top shaped. Its food consists of insects, grains and seeds in the summer and fall, and in winter almost entirely of wild seeds. In the crop of one which I examined, a remarkably large seed for the bird to swallow was sent for identification to Prof. Wheeler, our courteous consulting botanist, who reported it to be that of the skunk cabbage, *Symplocarpus foetidus*. Of little or no harm, as the grains eaten are almost wholly waste, and of great economical importance. Both confiding and beautiful, it deserves whatever encouragement and protection we may be able to give. A brood of quails which I hatched and reared with a bantam hen, grew to be very tame and kept our vegetable garden entirely free from insects the summer through. (For full notes, see *The Oologist*, Vol. XI, No. 12 and Vol. XII, No. 1.)

The mourning dove, *Zenaida macroura*, I have found once and only once nesting upon the ground in an open field. A few bushes growing in a slight hollow had been cut and burned and the ground sown broadcast to timothy. One little branch lay unburned upon the ground with the grass growing up through it and about two feet from this, where the grass was short and sickly looking, was the nest, built flat upon the ground and composed of a few small twigs and grass stems. The bird was flushed and the two white eggs seen. I understand that in prairie regions this is a common habit of the mourning dove, but here where abundance of favorable nesting sites are at hand, it is certainly very curious that this bird should have chosen to spend her time in incubation and rear her brood where any and all the night marauders would be likely to molest her home, and when she had been brought up differently. Food consists of insects, grains, seeds, etc.

The marsh hawk, *Circus hudsonius*, is the most graceful, most beautiful hawk on wing, that is found in our state, and the only representative of the birds of prey, with the possible exception of the short-eared owl, found nesting in the open fields. Coming to us late in February or early in March and remaining very late in fall, this bird is almost constantly seen in favored localities, soaring low over the meadows, poising with flapping wings about to dart below upon some unsuspecting rodent, or dashing into our faces, as we come over a hill, as suddenly to vanish from view, and we are always thrilled by this fairy form in blue or brown (the colors of the male and female bird, respectively). Nests with

eggs may be found from the first of May to the first of August. Perhaps the more usual site is the wet, bushy marsh or bog, where the nest is raised several inches above the wet moss and water, composed of various sized sticks for a foundation and reeds, grasses and sedges—a rather coarse structure and bulky as is usual with the nests of hawks. Nearly as often is the nest placed flat upon the ground in the hay fields, or in the growing wheat, rye, oats and barley. In such places it is composed simply of a few spears of grass or grain plucked and laid upon that which may be bent and trampled down upon the spot. With few exceptions these nests are destroyed before the young are ready to fly. I find many broken up each year. Eggs five, pale blue, usually unmarked. The food of the marsh hawk consists of mice, frogs, grasshoppers, crickets, etc., with very seldom a young bird which is learning to fly. It has never been seen, I think, to molest poultry, or birds which are able to fly. Of no harm whatever and of exceeding benefit to the farmer.

The horned lark, or if I am to be technically correct I suppose I must say the prairie horned lark, *Otocoris alpestris praticola*, (although I always protest in my heart these varietal species which I could not distinguish with certainty one from another if I had them here before me) remains with us throughout the year and whether chasing each other about the snow-clad fields or running before the carriage in the dusty road, they are always the same sprightly, cherry little fellows, showing scarcely any fear. The nests are usually placed in a slight depression by a tuft of grass and composed of grasses and rootlets, without any great care being manifest in the construction. The five eggs are of a drab color made up of innumerable spots of that tint so close together as to give it nearly solid effect. The nests of this species may be found from the first of March to the middle of April or perhaps a little later than that. I have found about the middle of March the usual time, and it is a common thing to find the sitter surrounded or nearly covered with snow. The food of this bird consists of both insects and seeds. Of no harm and of some use though I am not as yet certain to what extent insects are taken.

The bobolink, *Dolichonyx oryzivorus*, arrives in Washtenaw county from the south usually between April 30 and May 5. This bird being one of the few species dressed in black and white that we can boast as summer residents, at once tells of its return in one of the most animated songs which the woods and fields can furnish. The nest is built during the latter half of May and is so concealed beneath the thick growth of



clover, timothy, etc., as to practically preclude all chance of finding. It is composed simply of grasses upon the ground, and the five eggs, of a mottled, stony color, so resemble their surroundings as to make it very inconspicuous even when actually exposed to view. Early in the fall, the male bobolink changes its garb of black and white to the usual and more sombre plumage, of brown tinged with yellow, of the female bird and proceeds southward to become the dreaded "rice-bird" of the plantations, where it is killed by thousands and sent to the markets. The food consists of grains, seeds and insects. With us in the north it is of no harm and some importance. In the south a pest. One of our finest open meadow species.

The cowbird, *Molothrus ater*, presents a subject in ornithology hard to treat by a person who loves birds as I do. He neither builds his nest nor feeds his family and as is usual with the biped loafer, we find the above traits accompanied by those of bold trespass and destruction of his neighbors' belongings, at the same time requiring and expecting the latter to rear his family by their hard work. The eggs of the cowbird, which are white or bluish-white, varyingly speckled with brown and black, are parasitically installed, apparently at the convenience of the layer, as occasion presents itself, within the nests of so many species that it would be out of the question to think of naming them here. Of the meadow nesters which are included in the present list, the eggs of the cowbird have been found in the nests of the mourning dove, bobolink, red-winged blackbird, meadowlark, black-throated hunting, grass finch, song sparrow, grasshopper sparrow and prairie horned lark. The food of this bird consists of seeds and grain and some insects, especially ticks from the newly shorn sheep. A pernicious pest, setting a miserable example to man and beast.

The grass finch, *Pooecetes gramineus*, is a bird so well known the state over as the "ground bird," that the mention of that term is at once understood in every household. In all homes the "ground bird" is a well known and significant term to those who seem to think that all small birds of a brown color seen upon the ground in the fields belong to one species and that species is the "ground bird." I have several times been hotly arraigned because I said that the terms "sparrow," "black-bird," "ground bird," etc., were misleading and should never be carelessly used to designate a particular species; and even called a "bird crank" when I asked some ornithologists of this type to pick out a "ground bird" from the skins in the sparrow drawers of my cabinet. I wish that every member of the Michigan academy of science would aid

in introducing the correct and less confusing English names for birds, mammals, plants, etc., among the common people who may be interested enough to learn. for until this is done, the popular influence of the scientist, who has spent years in preparing himself to be of use to the masses, will be of little avail. The grass finch, vesper sparrow or bay-winged bunting, as it is variously and correctly called in different places, is one of the ground nesting species which has increased particularly in numbers, since the clearing up of the land and birds fair in time to outnumber in individuals any other species. Arriving usually in April, it is seen everywhere about the fields and along the roadside. The nest is situated in the grass upon the ground almost anywhere and is in such situations composed of grasses and stems with rootlets and occasionally horse hairs for a lining. Other nests are made in the cornfields next to the hills of grain and this seems to be a favorite location, where the materials used are mostly grass roots placed in a natural depression in the mellow soil. The outside rows are most used for their nests. In one corn row eighty rods long, I have found nine different nests on the same day, all with eggs. The nesting season extends through May, June and July. Eggs four or five, pale bluish-white, variously marked, splashed and mottled with lilac, chocolate and darker shades. There seems to be no limit to the variation of markings in eggs of the grass finch. Food mostly seeds—some insects. Of no harm and probably from its great numbers a very useful species.

The lark sparrow, *Chondestes grammacus*, I have found only once nesting here at Manchester, though the late dates on which they are occasionally seen, lead me to believe that they quite frequently do breed.

On May 20, 1896, I took a set of five fresh eggs and fully identified the female bird which was taken to make positive the find. The nest was upon the ground, in an open field, in a slight depression at the foot of a bitter dock plant. It was composed of grasses and rootlets and very much resembled the usual nests of the grass finch. The female bird was so tame that she would return to sit upon the eggs, after being flushed, while I was standing within ten feet of the nest. The eggs of the lark sparrow are creamy white, penciled and splashed with markings of chocolate brown and delicate lilac especially about the larger end. They resemble very much those of the orchard oriole in size and color. The pencillings upon the eggs also remind one of the markings upon the eggs of the red-wing. This is not a common bird, though each spring a few are noted. They arrive in April rather later than most of the sparrows

and remain until into May with the last of the juncos and white-crowned and white-throated sparrows.

The song sparrow, *Melospiza fasciata*, is by far the most attractive sparrow that we have. One of the first birds to greet us in March, inhabiting any and all sorts of ground, whether dry or damp, bushy or open, especially seeking the proximity of a farm yard and garden, he pours forth the sweetest, purest praise of spring that comes from all the feathered chorus, and when all birds are gay. The nests, composed of grasses and usually lined with finer ones and hair, are situated in bushes, upon the ground, in tufts of grass, in brush piles and even inside of buildings; in fact in every conceivable place. The eggs are five, bluish-white with markings of reddish brown in endless variety. The food of the song sparrow is almost wholly of insects if they can be found and the seeds of grasses and weeds. A bird of no bad habits and of inestimable benefit.

The grasshopper sparrow, *Ammodramus savannarum passerinus*, is a common bird in the hay fields and yet some very competent observers have never noted its presence owing to its rather shy ways and its general resemblance, when not specially noticed, to others of its class such as field sparrow, grass finch, etc., though it is smaller than either. However, if the peculiar, tremulous, balancing flight, very like that of the spotted sandpiper, is observed, and the rasping tones of the singer are heard, our attention should be seriously attracted to the odd little bird whose every move is characteristic. It is named grasshopper sparrow from the peculiar resemblance of its song to the stridulating note of the grasshopper. It is usually found singing from a windrow of hay, the top rail of a fence, or any prominent object not very high above the ground. This bird, which is increasing in abundance each year, arrives from the south about the first of May and the first brood is grown before haying time comes, the second being very often destroyed when the grass is cut. The nest is situated upon the ground, close to a tuft of grass, where the general growth is rather thin, and if possible in some natural depression such as is made by a cow or horse stepping in the mud, or where a small stone has been turned over, etc. It is composed loosely of grasses, roots of grasses, and sometimes hairs, carelessly placed. The usual clutch of eggs is five, white, speckled and in some cases splashed slightly with reddish brown. The food of the grasshopper sparrow, I am very positive, consists largely of insects. The young, at least, are fed almost entirely with insects and I have often seen the parent birds carrying larvæ about in their beaks for hours

after the nests have been destroyed, looking for their brood. The adults feed also upon seeds to some extent. Of no harm and of great benefit.

The black-throated bunting, *Spiza americana*, is the latest species to follow the opening up of the country bidding fair to become a common species where it has been heretofore very rare or wholly unknown. It is as yet abundant only in certain restricted localities but is becoming more generally distributed each year. It is with us at Fairview farm already somewhat common, several pairs usually occupying each forty acre hay lot. The nests are, as far as I have observed, always situated upon the ground in the thick grass, or clover fields, or fastened among the growing stems a few inches from the ground. The four eggs are laid usually in early June and are almost exact counterparts in color and size of those of the bluebird. They are, however, of a more round-oval form than those of the latter, one end being about as large as the other. In fact they come nearer being round than the eggs of any species that I can recall. Many nests, also, of this bird are destroyed in haying time. The food consists mostly of insects—some seeds. We should welcome this bird to a place among the common species in our state.

The meadowlark, *Sturnella magna*, is one of the most universally known species in the entire list. Its unmistakable identity, bright appearance and attractive notes, cause it to be noticed particularly and remembered by all who meet it. The meadowlark arrives in Michigan usually between March first and tenth and at once fills the air with its mellow, whistling song. The first nests are made early in May and nidification is continued through June. They are built upon the ground and are among the most elaborately formed, for protection, found in bird architecture. Built usually in the side of an especially thick tuft of grass in the meadow, the blades near at hand being drawn down and woven together over the nest proper, which consists almost entirely of dried grasses, we very often find in connection a tunnel of woven grass stems conveying the bird as she leaves the nest several yards unseen before she rises to fly. The eggs are five, crystal white, speckled and blotched with reddish brown. The food of the meadowlark consists largely of insects, both of imagos, such as beetles, flies, bugs, etc., and the various lepidopterous, hymenopterous and dipterous larvae which infest our hay fields. Grasshoppers and crickets are also taken. When insect food cannot be obtained, as when an individual occasionally winters with us, seeds and grains are readily taken.

I have little doubt that the field sparrow, *Spizella pusilla*, and the brown thrasher, *Harporhynchus rufus*, occasionally nest upon the ground

in the grassy borders of open fields. Their nesting sites vary much and they seek the brush heaps and shrubby borders of the open country rather than the deep woods. Indeed, I have been informed that they have nested upon the ground in the open, but as I have not personally known of such an instance I will not include them positively within this list of species.

In the mucky lowlands or marsh meadows, we find that of the above list of upland nesters all are found to be present except the prairie horned lark, grass finch, grasshopper sparrow, lark sparrow, mourning dove and dickcissel or black-throated bunting. With these exceptions we find the same list holding good but with the addition of three species not found nesting in the uplands. These we will briefly consider.

The prairie hen, *Tympanuchus americanus*, was found in great abundance by the first settlers of Michigan, inhabiting the marshes and patches of prairie land and among the more open hills upon which the scattered, wide-spreading oak trees grew. As the land was cleared, they continued to thrive and fatten in the grain stubbles, but when every man came to own a gun, and they became scattered in the fall over the whole upland country, they were slaughtered without mercy. The heavy, bungling rise of the prairie chicken makes it so easy a mark that it can scarcely be missed and it was persecuted for fun until it was practically extinct except in the prairie regions of the southwest of the state where yet a few remained. On April 13, 1894, however, a flock of sixteen were all at once discovered near Norvell, Jackson county. (For full notes concerning this flock see American Naturalist, vol. XXVIII, No. 355.) Since that time they have done very well until last fall when the hunters ruthlessly slaughtered eleven birds, and this after I had distributed signs, warning hunters to keep off, among the owners of all the land where they were found. These signs were generally tacked up, but under the softening influence of a few cigars the land owners yielded to so called friends and the birds suffered. They have become very shy and are so scattered now that they are in reality very difficult to obtain so I hope for their presence for a few years yet, at least. The nests are made of grasses and leaves in the thick herbage of the drier marshes early in May. One nest found last summer contained ten eggs, of a brownish drab color. The food of the prairie hen consists of grasshoppers or locusts, crickets—in fact almost any insects, through the summer. They usually resort to the grain stubbles after harvest where the waste kernels are eaten until the bird becomes almost helplessly fat. Of no harm, to speak of, and undoubtedly of great service to the farmer

in ridding the fields of noxious insects, why will he not protect them? Is it stupidity or ignorance? Probably both.

The red-winged blackbird, *Agelaius phoeniceus*, has in one instance been found to leave its customary reeds and cat-tails in the bog and build its nest in a tuft of grass in an open marsh, well drained and regularly cut for hay and afterwards pastured. It was situated at least one-fourth mile from water and entirely away from any bush or other protection. Usually coming to us about March 4, we must admit that the red-wing, as it gathers in huge flocks in the trees near our homes, furnishes us with a sleigh-bell chorus of undeniable richness, interspersed with the "tweek," "tweek," of those stopping for breath. This is one of the few species which are gregarious in their song. The nests are usually built in reeds, boggy tufts of sedge, or among cat-tails, standing in the water, and composed of coarse grasses and the leaves and shreds torn from the surrounding flags. The four eggs are light blue, with a slaty tinge, splashed, spotted and penciled with black, brown and purple, especially about the larger end. The young are fed largely with insects, those species found about the water, which are of little if any harm to us, being most taken, while the adults feed almost entirely upon wild seeds and grains when they can be obtained and are frequently of great damage to the farmer. As is the case with every species possessed of grain eating tendencies, it is apparently of little damage until the young are fledged and all are gathered together preparatory to their migration south. The red-winged blackbird is of doubtful reputation, probably just about paying for its board. We will at present give him the generous benefit of the doubt.

Henslow's sparrow, *Ammodramus henslowi*, is a rare species with us excepting in a few restricted localities. Its habits are little known from study in this state. It is an inhabitant of the marsh lands, preferably such as bear an open growth of short, shrubby plants, called locally with us "hard hack" (*Potentilla fruticosa*). Its flight and habits are much as in the case of the grasshopper sparrow, to which it is closely related, being, however, much more shy and less easily seen. I have taken in all, six specimens of Henslow's sparrow, all at or near Fairview farm at Watkins Station, Michigan. Three of them are now in my collection, one is at Lake Forest university, Illinois, one at the Indiana academy of science, in charge of Amos W. Butler of Brookville, that state, and the other taken to Ann Arbor by Mr. A. B. Covert, presumably in the collections of the University of Michigan. Mr. Covert took a specimen of this species at Pittsfield Junction, on the Ann Arbor & Lake Shore railways,

I believe, in the spring of 1894. The nest is not distinguishable from those of other sparrows, situated usually in a tuft of grass and composed of dry grasses. It was my good fortune to have the pleasure of recording the first nest of Henslow's sparrow, reported from Michigan. (See *The Nidologist*, vol. 1, No. 12.) It was found late in May, and contained five eggs of a bluish-white, speckled with reddish-brown. Mr. Arnold of Battle Creek, tells me that another nest of this species has been taken near Pine lake, east of Lansing.

Of the species which might be included among the nesters of the open marshes, but which usually at least select the more wet or bushy ground are: Short-eared owl, *Asio accipitrinus*, Maryland yellowthroat, *Geothlypis trichas*, swamp sparrow, *Melospiza georgiana*, long-billed marsh wren, *Cistothorus palustris*, short-billed marsh wren, *Cistothorus stellaris*, king rail, *Rallus elegans*, mallard, *Anas boschas*, and sandhill crane, *Gius Mericana*.

In the list of meadow nesters of which I have spoken we find the various orders, as follows:

Herodiones (cranes, herons, bitterns, etc.), one.

Limicolæ (waders), two.

Gallinæ (scratchers—quail, grouse, etc.), two.

Columbæ (doves), one.

Raptores (birds of prey), one.

Passeres (perchers proper—sparrows, thrushes, etc.), eleven.

Total, eighteen species.

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## EARLY DAYS IN DULUTH.

BY WILLIAM WITTER SPALDING, ONE OF THE EARLIEST SETTLERS ON LAKE SUPERIOR.

(From the Duluth Herald of January, 1901.)

The Herald is enabled herewith to present an autobiographical sketch of William Witter Spalding, one of the pioneers of Duluth and one of the very earliest settlers on Lake Superior. His career, as history shows, has been one of uncommon interest. Born eighty years ago in Pennsylvania, at an early date he went into the wilds that are now the seat of the great Mississippi valley empire, traveling by water and land in the primitive fashion of those days, meeting famous men of a day that is past, undergoing experiences that read like a chapter out of a histor-

ical novel, and finally reaching Lake Superior at a time when the fringes of civilization on its borders were scattered and thin. This history he has written for the Duluth Historical and Scientific association, and it has become a part, and a most interesting part, of its archives. So interesting and valuable are these reminiscences that the Herald has been unable to condense them, but gives them in full.

I was born July 11, 1820, so I was informed later by those who knew the facts, at Standing Stone, on the banks of the Susquehanna river, near Towanda, Bradford county, Pa. My first recollection of life is tinged with pain. It is connected with my well-meant attempt to feed bread and butter to an old sow, who nipped my tender fingers in her anxiety to prevent any of the food getting away. I imbibed what education I have at a college on the hill at Towanda, consisting of one room in a log house, luxuriantly furnished with long wooden benches and a desk for the teacher. Here I learned the three Rs, readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic, and how the girls' backs and shoulders were kept straight and their heads up by wearing a board strapped across their shoulders. I was named after my grandfather, who received a medal for bravery in the revolution. He was a descendant in the sixth generation of Edward Spalding, who came from England about 1619 to Maryland, from whence he removed some years later to the Massachusetts colony. The members of the family are almost as numerous as the Smiths, and are now to be found in every state in the union. There were seven of the name in the battle of Bunker Hill. My mother's name was Cash, of a family whose American residence is almost as old as that of the Spaldings. After finishing my education—no Greek or Latin was taught in my college—at the age of twelve, I entered the store of Burton Kingsbury in Towanda, where I was serving as a clerk when the great shower of meteors took place which frightened many people out of their wits and made them think the world was coming to an end.

In 1835 my father went to Peru, Ill., to take charge of a store for Colonel H. L. Kinney, who had a large contract on the canal then building from Chicago to the Illinois river. During the next summer my mother and family followed him. The only modes of transportation in those days were natural water courses and common roads. Under the direction of Judge Simon Kinney we procured a large scow on which we built a one-story board cabin. Putting our household goods aboard, one fine morning, with hundreds of our friends and neighbors lining the banks to see us off into the wild west, out of which they never expected us to return, we pushed out into the stream and floated down the Sus-



quehanna. Thus we left Towanda, the home of my youth. I often look back upon how, on frosty mornings, at an early hour, I approached with trembling steps the huge fireplace with its big andirons on which the night before I had placed the large backlog, the forelog and the middle pieces of hardwood; how, with numb fingers, I raked open the pile of ashes heaped up over the glowing embers to ascertain if any live sparks were left; how I took the great tongs and trudged off through the snow to a neighbor's a quarter or half a mile away to borrow a live coal if the fire had burned out during the night, or else, shaking with cold, try with flint and steel and a bit of punk or charred log to strike fire. Matches had not then been invented, or had not yet reached that part of the country. The first I ever saw were sticks with the ends dipped in sulphur, which we thrust into a vial of vitriol and brought forth in a blaze; how I searched for the cow which was to supply the main staple of our evening meal, often looking over my shoulder to see that the goblins did not get me.

Our trip down the river was uneventful; except the fright given the steersman—I was at the steering oar—by the pilot, who warned me to look out for Buttermilk falls, as they were dangerous. This kept me in a flutter until we reached them and found them to be only a place where a small stream tumbled down a hillside into the river. After several days we came to the west branch of the river and struck a canal, or rather slack-water navigation, with a towpath. We purchased a horse and were towed up to Hollidaysburgh. Here we sold our horse, scow and cabin, and took the railroad to cross the Allegheny mountains. The cars were hauled by stationary engines on the top of the mountains, and they took us to the top, whence we went to Johnstown. Thence we went down the Allegheny river to Pittsburg where we went on board a steamboat for a trip down the Ohio river to Cairo, then up the Mississippi past St. Louis to the mouth of the Illinois, then up the Illinois river to Peru. The trip was very interesting to a boy of sixteen who had never traveled before. At Louisville, Ky., I remember seeing a man over seven feet in height, called the Kentucky Giant. St. Louis we found to be a very lively town, and many steamboats lay at its wharves, for it was, in those days, the distributing point of the great southwest. At Alton, a few miles above St. Louis, we visited a famous cave, where some years later the great abolitionist, Owen Lovejoy, was shot at, the ball passing through his plug hat. I have heard him lecture and have seen him show the hat with the bullet hole through it. The country along the banks was wild. Flocks of geese and ducks rose on whirring wing before the bow of the steamer as she plowed her way up the river. We saw deer

and other game on the banks, and at night the wolves howled on the prairie.

We reached Peru after a trip of five weeks. From Peru we traveled by team twenty-five miles south to Indiantown, in Bureau county, where my father had charge of a general merchandise store belonging to H. L. and Lawrence Kinney. I entered the store as clerk and bookkeeper, remaining there until the fall of 1837, when I went to Peru to take charge of a store for a cousin. During the summer of 1837 Daniel Webster, who was a great friend of H. L. Kinney, and whose son Fletcher had a farm three miles back of Peru, paid a visit to Peru, which caused as great excitement there as would a visit by Admiral Dewey to Duluth. He came up the river on the steamer Wave, which belonged to my cousin, Ulysses Spalding. As it was late when they arrived, Mr. Kinney remained on the boat for the night. My father, who had gone up to see the great orator and statesman, also went aboard the boat. In the night the vessel took fire, and Webster and the other passengers barely escaped with their lives. My father was aroused, and groping his way through the smoke, got out on the upper deck forward looking for a way to get off. He saw a colored chambermaid shin down a fender to the dock, and he followed her and escaped in his night clothes.

I remained in Peru two years, during which period the panic of 1837-8 occurred, caused mostly by the great inflation of the currency by the issue of wildcat money by the banks. At every little village or cross roads where there were one or more buildings, a bank would be established and began to issue bills as fast as the press could print them. The country was soon flooded with this easily made wealth. Prices went up, and when the collapse came the wildcats went as flat as confederate money during the last days of the civil war. A basket of the paper would not buy provisions enough to keep a family going a week. Many men got rich by borrowing from the banks of issue. They could pay a loan of \$10,000 by buying up that amount of its notes for \$100 or \$200.

During 1838 there were great labor troubles along the whole length of the canal from Chicago down. The difficulty arose between two factions from the Emerald Isle, the Fairdowns and the Corkonians. There had been a good many local fights in which men were hurt on both sides, but on one prearranged day the Corkonians rose en masse along the whole line of the canal from Chicago to Peru and attacked the Fairdowns by force of arms. They tore down their cabins, threw their household goods into the muddy waters of the big ditch, and badly beat many of them. There was much excitement in the little village. The

citizens held a mass meeting, bringing in settlers from all around, elected officers and called for volunteers to quell the disturbance. The fighting blood of the Spaldings—who were well represented in every war from the revolution down—grew warm within me, and I enlisted for the war. The arms and equipments of the troops that assembled on the morning of the first day of March would have put to blush the ragged phalanx of Sir John Falstaff. Men and boys armed with scythe blades, a rag wrapped around the shank for a handle, pitchforks, flails, clubs, bowie and butcher knives, a few shotguns and some pistols made up the armament. I was equipped with a small brass pistol. Perhaps I might have been able to wing the side of a barn at three feet, but it was perhaps lucky that I did not have a chance to try, because it was an open question whether, if that gun ever went off, the most execution would be done at the muzzle or the breech.

The army got together early one morning when a drizzly rain was falling and prepared for the march. Officers were chosen and a cavalry force of twenty or twenty-five men accompanied the expedition. We marched through mud and water for twelve miles along the bank of the big ditch. We saw many signs of the conflict of the previous day. Cabins were destroyed and women and children were sitting around in the ruins crying or dolefully fishing their goods out of the dirty water in the ditch. Many Fairdowns, with bandaged heads or limbs, came in and joined us. We captured some prisoners, and at the head of Buffalo Rock, at Thurston's tavern, we met about 125 of the Corkonians returning along the canal. The Fairdowns that had joined us and the tough element from town immediately rushed to attack them, against the protests and efforts of our officers. A good many shots were fired, and one or two were reported killed. Several were wounded and the rest were taken prisoners. In the meantime our cavalry had proceeded to Ottawa, the county seat, three or four miles farther up, and with the assistance of its citizens had captured 200 or 300 more of the rioters. The war was over. The same methods were pursued all along the line up to Chicago. At Joliet cannons were dragged out but were not used.

At this time Chicago was reported to be the biggest mudhole in the states. I had not yet been there, but teams were constantly passing through Peru loaded with grain for Chicago, and returning empty or loaded with supplies. The stories they told of the Chicago mud were awful.

At this time I had an attack of ague, and took my grip and a sack containing \$400 in silver, the savings of my two years as clerk, and went

back to Indiantown to my father's, where I shook for a year. When I got so bad I could not get my feet to the floor when sitting in a chair for shaking, the fun gave out. I had a contract to carry the mails from Hennepin on the Illinois river, to Rock Island, on the Mississippi river, once a week. One fine morning in the fall of 1839, having concluded to run away from the ague, I got aboard the stage—a one-horse buggy—and started for Rock Island. With the exception of a slight touch I never had the ague again.

I remained about a year in Rock Island, where, during the summer of 1840, I saw the steamer Nauvoo, whose captain was a brother of Joseph Smith, the great Mormon leader and prophet. The Nauvoo was running on the river from the town of that name, the Mormon headquarters, where they were building a great temple. During the summer I took lessons in penmanship, and later attained some celebrity as a teacher of that art. While teaching in Granville I cast my first vote for William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. He ran against Martin Van Buren, and I well remember the slogan of the campaign: "Tippecanoe and Tyler too; and with them we'll beat little Van. Van, Van is a used-up man; and with them we'll beat little Van." And they did. The man that whipped Big Injun Tecumseh was very popular in those days.

In the spring of 1841 Riley Watson, a student chum, and I started to make a trip to New Orleans, I to teach penmanship and he to deliver lectures along the route. We visited Pekin and Peoria, but at Pekin my trip was arrested by news of my mother's threatened death, and I hurried home. In the spring of 1842 I went to the lead mines of the Galena district. I settled at Fair Play, a small town northwest of Galena where I engaged in mining and teaching. It was a pretty rough place, with many gamblers and a good deal of pistol shooting and bowie-knife play, and with very little law and order. Still, it was the safest country for life and property for those that let the gamblers alone that I ever was in. In the spring of 1843 my uncle, Daniel S. Cash, joined me and we became partners in mining. He was from Cleveland, Ohio, where he had been engaged in running a passenger boat on the canal to the Ohio river. After working at various places during the summer we settled down at Stake Diggings in the fall. At this newly discovered district we stayed all winter, sleeping in a haymow and boarding at a farm house. We were fairly successful and made some money.

In the spring or early summer of 1844 we sold our claims and moved south, locating at the town of Elizabeth, located on Apple river, seventeen miles from Galena. Here we rented a log house and taking in two

more partners, George Bevis and E. C. Rhaum, we mined until the spring of 1845 with poor success. During the winter we heard rumors of the discovery of pure copper on Lake Superior, and got hold of an old book translated from the French, giving a history of the exploration and researches of a French Jesuit on the shores of Lac de Tracy, of Lake Superior some 200 years previous, telling of marvelous masses of pure copper lying exposed in the wilds of that country.

We were at once filled with a desire to go and see for ourselves, and began to prepare for the journey. About two weeks before we started, on returning to our cabin at 11 o'clock one morning after a hard morning's work, we found the window open and discovered that a red leather trunk under our bed had been broken open and \$250 in gold gone. The thief had left a stocking full of silver. We should have had more money, but there had been a presidential election the previous fall, and that great statesman, Henry Clay, ran against James K. Polk. My partner, Mr. Cash, and myself were so sure that Clay was going to be elected that we bet \$150 in gold against a fine horse. After the election we concluded to still travel on foot, as we considered that more healthy than horseback riding.

We located the thief, and he was whipped by the crowd until the switches ran out, when he confessed. He and his partner were sent to the penitentiary. While they were on their way there we were on our way to Galena, where we laid in a supply of provisions, mining tools, axes, saws, etc., and on the third day of May, 1845, we took a steamer up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, bound for the Lake Superior copper district.

#### HIS EXPERIENCE IN COPPER MINING.

We stopped at Prairie du Chien, Wis., where there was an old United States post, Fort Crawford, where two men, noted in history, had been in command—General Zachary Taylor, who became president in 1849, and died in 1850, and that arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, who became the head of the southern confederacy. We put up our tent on the bank of the river, just below the fort. Prairie du Chien was a very pretty spot, 108 miles from Galena, on the east side of the Mississippi, three miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin river. I was taken ill with fever, May 6, and had to stick to the tent, take pills and exist on snipe soup. Cash bought a big pine canoe, forty-two feet long and three feet wide, and we were to make our trip in this. We fixed up the craft, made a big, square sail, and on May 10, loaded up, hoisted sail and started on up the Mississippi river, four of us, to say nothing of a dog, named Clear the

Way. Mr. Cash had been elected captain, and I was appointed steersman, which positions we held to the end of the trip. I will not stop to tell of the every-day incidents of the journey, and the dangers and narrow escapes we encountered, as we are in a hurry to get to Lake Superior. May 15 we passed the mouth of the Bad Axe river, where the Indian chief, Black Hawk, was taken prisoner in a battle. May 16 we passed Prairie La Crosse, a settlement of only a few buildings, and at night we stopped at a wood yard kept by a man named Bunnell. We remained here resting, hunting, fishing and catching rattlesnakes until May 20. This place was just below Lake Pepin, and I think it is now the town of Trempealeau, Wis. On the night of May 20 we took passage on the steamer Otter, towing our big canoe. At the head of Lake Pepin, on the west side, we passed an Indian village, called Red Wing, where the present Minnesota town of Red Wing stands. We arrived at the mouth of the St. Croix river at 11 o'clock. There was a dock and warehouse where the flourishing town of Prescott now stands. Here we resumed our canoe and started up St. Croix lake, which is thirty miles long and one to two miles wide. We did not go to St. Paul, where there were only a few log cabins and warehouses then, and its prospects were not very bright, though it was the head of navigation.

At 1 o'clock, May 22, we arrived at Stillwater Mills, at the head of the lake. Here were a few log buildings and a saloon, kept by an Irishman we had known in the mines. His name I have forgotten. At 2 o'clock, May 23, we arrived at St. Croix Falls, where we met our first hard proposition. We had to put our provisions all in sacks and drag our heavy canoe across the portage around the falls, packing our supplies on our backs. At the second rapids we found a sawmill, owned by a Mr. Parrrington. Near here copper had been found, and a Mr. Kirkpatrick had a prospect. May 26 we made a portage around the falls, and got in what was called Nine-Mile Rapids, and they were indeed "rapid." We got to the head, and then lost bottom with our setting poles, and went back over them with a rush. We came near being wrecked, but saved our bacon and won out on the next trial. The mosquitoes had become wild, woolly and bloodthirsty. They proved our worst foes on the trip, in spite of prophecies that we should meet worse.

May 27 we passed the mouth of Wolf creek and the mouth of the Sunrise, and arrived at Connor's place about noon. Connor, after whom the point at West Superior was named, was 64 years old, and had been in the country forty-three years, in the employ of the American Fur Company. He was just getting ready to start for La Pointe, the headquarters

of the company in Lake Superior. We found him to be a genial, kind old man. He told us we could never get to Lake Superior with our big canoe, but that he would show us the way if we could keep up. He had three birch bark canoes loaded with furs and manned by half-breeds, French and squaws. There was another dugout, manned by an old Frenchman, with oats for the mission on the Mecagety. May 29 the fleet started up the river. We found no difficulty in keeping up with the bark canoes. May 30 we passed the mouths of Snake and Kettle rivers. We had been having almost continuous rain for many days. May 31 we passed the mouth of Tamarack river, and arrived at the mouth of Yellow river. June 3 we worked up over seven rapids in the rain. On the fourth we passed the mouth of the Mecogon river. On a point of land at its mouth was the grave of the old chief, Buffalo, where a tall flag pole stood. He had died two years previous. June 5, after a hard day's work crossing portages and getting up rapids, we camped at a place called Wa-shaw-go-ban-in-de-she-shin, where there had been a battle between Chippewas and Sioux, and a warrior had been wounded and left to die. June 7 we reached the portage on Lake St. Croix, the head of the river. This lake is about four miles long and a mile wide. There was an Indian village on the left hand side, about half way, opposite the head of an island.

From the lake there was a portage of two and a half or three miles to make over the hill to the head waters of the Brule river. At the foot of the hill, where the portage began, Mr. Connor and his crew left us, Mr. Connor saying that he should never see us again, as it was impossible for us to get over the portage or down the Brule.

But we had our nerve with us, and as Hannibal had crossed the Alps, we felt sure we could win out if no bad accident overtook us. On the 8th with the help of two Indians and their squaws, we packed our provisions and took them across the portage. There is said to be a spring—we did not see it—on the divide which boils up, the water on one side flowing into the St. Croix, and thence to the Mississippi, and on the other into the Brule and Lake Superior. June 9 we tried the big canoe by setting it up on runners, sled-fashion, but it would not work. We then began to cut down a large oak from which to saw wheels but before we got it down we were visited by several loads of Indians and squaws from the village on the lake. They thought we were traders and had whisky—scota-wa-bo—but they were disappointed in this hope of getting fire-water to quench their thirst. We hired them, however, with pork and flour, to help us cross the portage. Driving large spikes on each side of

the canoe we hitched them to it with their pack straps, nineteen of them, and cutting some small poles, three or four feet long, we used them as rollers. The captain gave the word and away we went over the hill and to the head of the Brule without a stop.

Where we struck the river it was about four feet wide. Here on a tree we found the name of James B. Campbell, assistant agent of United States mineral lands, who had crossed before us. On the 10th we loaded up to start about 11 o'clock, but found we had squeezed all the water out of the river and were hard aground. We went down about a mile and built a dam, which raised the water so that we flowed down, broke our way through the dam, and on we went. In a short distance we struck a bend that was too sharp for the canoe to turn. With spades and axes we cut off the point of land and went on again. After two or three more such obstructions we found fair water and sped swiftly on. About sundown we overtook Connor and his party, who were much surprised but glad to see us.

The rest of the way down the Brule, over its many rapids and falls we traveled safely, with many various daily incidents, and on June 3, just before sundown, we arrived at the Kitchi Gummi, great Lake Superior, forty-four days from our starting point. We had fine sport coming down the river catching speckled trout. The river seemed to be full of them. June 18 we arrived at La Pointe, on Madeline island, about four miles from the main shore in Chequamegon bay. Here were the headquarters of the American Fur company, of which Ramsey Crooks, of New York was president. Dr. Borup and C. H. Oakes were chief factors here and a Mr. Hays was agent. Dr. Borup and Mr. Oakes afterward removed to St. Paul, where some of their descendants still live.

I was taken with a fever soon after reaching La Pointe, and was sick some weeks. I was tenderly cared for by Vincent Roy, who was then a young student with the Catholic priest, and up to his death, a few years ago, was a well known and respected merchant of Superior. There had been an old French fort, ninety years previous, and later an American fort, at La Pointe, both of which had been abandoned and had gone to ruins. In a very old Catholic church there was a beautiful picture of Christ at the carpenter's bench. We remained there prospecting, mostly on the main land, near the present site of Bayfield, and assisted the agent in making the yearly payment to the Indians, who assembled there every year to receive this annuity from the government, amounting usually to \$4 per head in money, one blanket, four or five yards of calico, two



or three yards of satinnet and some gun flints, for which some of them traveled 400 or 500 miles. I saw at one time over 3,700 Indians there.

As soon as they received their pay they began gambling, and they kept it up until the sharpest had most of the plunder. Here I saw the game of lacrosse for the first time. June 30 two vessels arrived, the Algonquin and the Uncle Sam.

George Bevis had left us June 26 on the schooner Siskiwit for the Galena lead mines again. We passed the glorious Fourth of July very quietly. There was no roar of cannon, no roll of drums, no blare of trumpets to usher in the day. July 15 Cash started on the Siskiwit for Fond du Lac to look for reported lead discoveries. Raum and I started in the big canoe for Copper Harbor, on the south shore. On the 17th we reached the Montreal river where we camped. July 19 a lot of Indians came in from the headwaters of the Wisconsin river on their way to La Pointe, and camped all around us. That night they stole all our pork and flour, which was in a bag under our heads, and left us destitute of provender, and with no prospect of getting any more short of Copper Harbor. So we started in a hurry on the morning of the 20th. On the next day we shot a pigeon and had it for supper. On the 22d we killed two pine squirrels, that helped out a little, and the next day we reached Ontonagon, where, at the mouth of the river, we found two log houses, one large one called the government house, occupied by Major Campbell, assistant mineral land agent, and a cabin occupied by James K. Paul, who, with Nick Mineclue, had come from Illinois across country through Wisconsin in 1843 and took possession of the famous rock of pure copper on May 5 of that year.

This large lump of pure copper was lying on the west branch of the river, a few miles above its mouth. We had read about its being seen by the French explorers and missionaries 100 years or more previous, by General Lewis Cass, the great democratic leader of Michigan, some thirty years before. Paul and his associate cut a road across the point to the main line, and with oxen, brought up the lake, hauled the mass of copper to what is now called Victoria Mine landing. Here they got on a big log raft and floated down the river, where they sold it to a man named Eldridge for \$1,760. Eldridge put it on a vessel and took it to Detroit, where it was seized by an agent of the government on the ground that it was removed before the treaty with the Indians for the purchase of the lands was signed. It was taken to Washington, where it now reposes in the Smithsonian institution, where I have seen it several times. There

has been a good deal of it chipped or chopped off, but it still weighed 3,844 pounds.

John Burt surveyed the country about the mouth of the Ontonagon river in the spring of 1845, and there were four white men in the county in the winter of 1845-6. The township of Ontonagon, which included the whole county, was organized in 1849 and D. S. Cash was first supervisor and P. B. Eastman clerk.

July 26 Rhaum and I started for Copper Harbor, which we reached August 1. It is a very pretty and safe harbor, two miles long and half a mile wide. Here stood Fort Wilkins, with two companies of soldiers, under the command of Captain Clery. The United States mineral agency was on a point called Porter's island, where leases could be obtained on tracts from one to three miles square. We took two leases on tracts each a mile square, and started up the lake again. August 7 we went to Ontonagon, and from there we went to La Pointe, where we stayed until September 10, when we shipped on board the steamer for Ontonagon, and built a log house on the west bank of the river, about a mile above the mouth, where Mr. Cash made a claim.

September 13 there was a big storm, and Dr. Douglas Houghton and two of his men were drowned, near Eagle river. Dr. Houghton was state geologist of Michigan, and was making a geological survey of the country. His loss was a hard blow, and it was deeply regretted by everybody.

We all lived in the log house until December 31, 1845, when I left for Iron River under agreement to mine for the Boston North American Mining company, organized by the American Fur company, under the management of Messrs. Borup and Oakes. The first work was done on a claim on a branch of Iron River, eight miles from the mouth. Here I remained prospecting and sinking a shaft, with five or six men, until March 18, 1846. Our provisions were packed in on the backs of Indians from the mouth of the river. Here I had the honor of being adopted into the Chippewa tribe by an Indian, called the Little Frenchman, whose wife was the daughter of the old chief Cunde-cun, who was then said to be over 100 years old. I was presented with a red stone pipe, from the quarries in Minnesota, and given the name of Wazusk—Muskrat—because I dug holes in the ground. I still have the stone pipe. March 18 we moved our camp to what was then called the Bell location, afterward the Union mine, about four miles west of Iron River, near the foot of the Porcupine mountains. The copper vein on this location was well defined and quite easy to work. The hanging wall was old altered red sandstone and the foot wall amygdaloid. Part of the vein was very

rich, but the copper was so fine that it was found impossible to make it a paying proposition. So after several trials under different organizations it was abandoned.

#### DISCOVERY OF WORK DONE HUNDREDS OF YEARS BEFORE.

On July 4, 1846, we went to the mouth of Iron river to attend a celebration of the day. There was a table under a bowery of bushes at which thirty-five Americans sat down to dinner. The principal item on the bill of fare was a baked Lake Superior trout weighing forty pounds. A Mr. Palmer made an address, and I read the Declaration of Independence, after which we had toasts.

I had full charge of the Union mine after beginning work as agent, and was engaged in sinking, drifting, clearing, building, etc., with the usual incidents of mining life. October 27, 1846, the first white child was born in Ontonagon county, a bouncing boy, arriving to gladden the home of Mrs. Shin, our cook.

I remained at the Union mine until in September, 1847, when I resigned my position and went to Ontonagon, where I bought out a Mr. Adams, who had been a partner of D. S. Cash in a general merchandise business on the west side of the river, on Mr. Cash's homestead claim. Mr. Cash had gone to Cleveland, Ohio, after his family. I wish to say right here that D. S. Cash was one of God's noblemen. He was honest, upright, generous and genial. He was loved by everybody who knew him. About November 1st he returned with his family on the side-wheel steamer Julia Palmer, whose master was Captain Moody and whose mate was Captain Jack Angus. The steamer was caught in a big storm when but a short distance out from the Sault, and came very near going to the bottom with all on board. But by throwing the freight overboard and the frantic efforts of all on board she was got into port on Isle Royale, and after the storm went down she crossed to Ontonagon. Among the freight thrown overboard were most of the goods purchased by Mr. Cash for our store. As there was no insurance, this was a hard blow to our new enterprise. I immediately took a contract to do some mining for the Vulcan Mining company on location ninety-eight, afterward the famous Minnesota Mining company. I began work early in January, 1848.

In April of that year I examined a cave that had been occupied by porcupines for many generations, and discovered that it had been worked by the hand of man. I had it cleaned out and found masses of pure copper standing up from the bottom some eighteen or twenty inches

above the rock in which they were embedded. Around them were ashes, burned pieces of bark and boulders of rock weighing five to ten pounds. Around the center of these stones creases or rings had been cut, about one inch in width and an eighth to a quarter of an inch deep. It was evident that these stones had been used as hammers or mallets. Around the creases a withe had been bound for a handle. The ends of many of them were battered, showing hard use. All the indications went to show that the ancient miners, whoever they were, first built fires on the rock and then poured on water to soften it. Then they worked with these stone hammers to beat it away.

This was the first discovery of the work of the ancient miners on Lake Superior. Afterwards, on the same vein on which I made this discovery, a basin like depression was found in which stood a large hemlock tree. When it was cut down it was found by its rings that it was over 400 years old. A shaft was found which had been worked by the ancients. On cleaning this out to a depth of twenty feet a drift was found leading out on the vein for about fifteen feet. In this drift, laying on oak skids—there was no oak growing in this country at the time of which I write—there was a solid mass of pure copper weighing four tons. The ancient miners, after immense labor for many years, had succeeded in detaching it from its bed in the rock and tipping it over on the skids found that they were unable to move it. The skids being covered with water preserved their shape and grain, though they were of the consistency of cheese. The shaft was continued down another twenty feet, making forty feet in all. How many years or centuries it had taken these ancients, with their crude methods, to do this work no man knows. Other works of similar description were found subsequently all over the copper country of Upper Michigan. Isle Royale was found honey-combed with these ancient pits.

Some years after, at a depth of several hundred feet, a mass of copper was encountered in the conglomerate weighing over 500 tons. It took three years to cut it up and get it out of the mine. It was thrown down by what were called sand blasts. The rock was partly removed from behind it and many kegs of black powder—no dynamite being then in use—were put in and covered with sand. The charge was then fired by electricity. The only way to cut it was by a narrow steel chisel, which was held by one miner while one or two more drove it with sledges. The chisels cut a strip or ribbon half an inch wide and one to three feet long. The blocks so cut out would weigh from two to six tons each, some of their faces being five feet across.

Many theories have been advanced as to what people performed these ancient feats of mining, and as to the age in which they were done. No satisfactory proof has ever been found to back up any theory. No remains of any habitations or works left by them have ever been found, except the copper tools, which gave proof of their having been skilled artisans or that they had relations with races that were. My own opinion is that they were a race cotemporary with the so called Mound Builders, and that they did their work in the summer season, taking the small pieces of copper they were able to obtain south, possibly to the Aztecs of Mexico, to be made into utensils and ornaments, as well as implements of warfare. •

May 6, 1848, I finished my work, netting \$1,000 profit for my four months work, and went back to the store at Ontonagon. May 26 I was shot in the knee by James K. Paul, while he was intoxicated, in revenge for a fancied injury done him by my partner, D. S. Cash. He used a shotgun loaded with duck shot, and made a wound that has never healed and that crippled me for life. After I had been laid up for about a year I recovered sufficiently to go to Cleveland and have an operation performed by Dr. Ackley, who was then one of the most noted surgeons in the west. Cleveland at that time was quite a business place, and did a large wholesale business with the copper mining country of Lake Superior.

In August, 1853, I took the first three degrees in Masonry in the first lodge established on the shores of Lake Superior. The officers were as follows: D. S. Cash, W. M.; E. C. Roberts, S. W.; William Peck, J. W. I was recommended by John Greenfield, grandfather of J. B. Greenfield, now with the Lakeside Land company in Duluth, Samuel Peck, Thomas H. Low and S. K. Reed.

In the fall of 1853 I went east, took the royal arch degree in Union Chapter 161, Towanda, Pa., and was married April 27, 1854, in Fiskilwa, Ill. We left immediately afterward for Ontonagon. On arriving at Sault Ste. Marie we were obliged to wait two weeks for a boat to go up the lake and finally got on board the propeller Napoleon, Captain John McKay. This was her first trip after her transformation from a schooner into a propeller.

In the early 50s my partner, Mr. Cash, and myself, took a contract to do the freighting for the Minnesota Mining company. This we accomplished by means of river boats on the Ontonagon. These boats were about sixty feet long and ten feet wide, and were manned by twelve men to pole and one, the captain, to steer.

They would carry eight to fifteen tons, taking supplies up and copper down with passengers. If there were no vessels laying off the mouth of the river when the boats arrived down, the copper was handled at the dock of our store and warehouse. If there was a steamer at anchor the boat was run out to her and the copper taken on board. It was pretty dangerous work, especially when there was a heavy sea on the lake. In this business I became acquainted with nearly all the captains of steamers and vessels navigating Lake Superior in those days.

The first one I fell in with was Captain Jack Angus, of the schooner Siskiwit. He has a son of the same name who is still living. Next was Captain Ripley, of the Free Trader, who was succeeded by Captain John Parker, still living in a hale and hearty age at Ontonagon. Next was Captain Lathrop Johnson, whose descendants still live at Ontonagon. Others were Captain Eber Ward, of the Baltimore; Captain Ben. Sweet, of the North Star side wheeler, the fastest boat that then ran on the lakes, which came out in 1857; Captain John Spalding, of the Northern Light and Lac Labell, who was afterwards superintendent of the Sault canal locks until his death; Captain John Wilson, of the Meteor, who died recently in Palestine; Captain B. Wilkins, the two Caldwells, Captain Halloran, Captain John McKay, of the ill-fated Manistee; Captain Alexander McDougall, inventor of the whalebacks, whom everybody in Duluth knows; Captain Murch, of the Northern Light, and many others.

#### THE DEED TO CHIEF BUFFALO.

In September of 1854 a treaty was held at La Pointe by commissioners appointed by the general government, with chiefs of the Chippewa Indians, for the cession of the lands at the head of the lake and the north shore in the state of Minnesota, then a territory. Mr. Cash was there to try and secure a claim which we had against Benjamin J. Armstrong, a trader at La Pointe, who was married to a daughter of Chief Buffalo. Armstrong had become deeply indebted to us for goods which he had furnished the Indians. Mr. Cash was acquainted with Chiefs Buffalo, Negaunab, Cundecun and many others, and consulted and advised them. The commissioners tried for several days to treat with the Indians, but they could not agree. They were about ready to quit in disgust when Mr. Cash disclosed to them the terms on which they could agree with the chiefs and get them to sign. These terms were in effect to assign certain reserves to different bands. One of them was to be had at Duluth, and it was to go to the heirs of Chief Buffalo, Armstrong and his wife, Madeline. We had an agreement with Armstrong that he

should deed to D. S. Cash & Co., and James H. Kelly two-thirds of all the land so obtained for our claim. This land is now what is known as the third division of Duluth.

In 1856 Mr. Cash and myself fitted out or grub staked several persons to go to the head of the lake about Duluth to make homestead or pre-emption claims. Among these men were W. W. Kingsbury, who was elected from Duluth to the territorial legislature; Samuel McQuade, who was sheriff of St. Louis county for some time and who was in a sash and door factory in partnership with Mr. Patterson, also from Ontonagon, on Minnesota Point; William Whitesides, Robert Johnson and Benjamin J. Armstrong.

In those early days steamboats on the lake were such a curiosity that when the whistle of one was heard nearly every man, woman and child in Ontonagon would rush to the docks and beach to see it come in. When the preachers gave out their text from the pulpit on a Sunday they would announce that services would be held on such and such a day and hour "provided no steamboat arrived." Now it is no uncommon sight to see thirty to fifty steamers in Duluth harbor at one time.

Among the emigrants from Ontonagon to the head of the lake that became prominent citizens of Duluth and Superior, besides those previously mentioned were Peter Dean, a well-remembered merchant of Duluth and one of her honored mayors; James Edwards, of West Superior; Dr. S. S. Walbank, a well-known physician; Charles Witt, Herman Burg, P. Doran, chief of police in Duluth under Mayor Sutphin; V. S. Wilkinson, Mrs. Fanny Cash and sons, D. G., James and Charles; E. and A. Kugler, L. Hegart, I. C. Spalding and family, L. M. Spalding and family, L. Webber, for many years a merchant on Superior street, but now in California; a Mr. Wheelock, who was a clothing merchant in Old Superior until his death; and John Levine, of the St. Paul & Duluth freight office.

Lake Superior gets up some pretty big storms at times, and while not considered especially dangerous it has caused the loss of much property and many lives during my time. In 1847 the schooner Merchant was lost with all on board. In 1848 the schooner John Jacob Astor struck a rock and sunk in Copper Harbor. In 1856 the old steamer Superior was partly burned in July and foundered off the Pictured Rocks in the same fall. In 1872 the steamer Lottie Bernard, Captain Norris, foundered off Beaver bay on the north shore. In November, 1858, the schooner Algonquin, Captain Jack Angus, sunk at Superior. In 1861 the steamer Seneca went down, losing no lives. In 1850 the steamer Monticello foundered off

Portage canal loaded with copper. September 30, 1854, the steamer Baltimore went down off the Pictured Rocks, carrying with her over 100 people. In 1857 the steamer Sunbeam foundered, carrying down all on board, except a Frenchman from Superior. Among her passengers were A. Coburn and Abner Sherman, two of Ontonagon's most prominent citizens. July 9, 1876, the steamer St. Clair, with a number of Duluth people on board, was burned off Elm river, below Ontonagon, and twenty-seven people lost their lives. Among those saved was John B. Sutphin, afterward mayor of Duluth. In November, 1883, the steamer Manistee, Captain John McKay, foundered off Porcupine mountains, in a big storm and all on board were lost.

In August, 1858, I moved from Ontonagon with my family upon my mining claim on the mineral range, about a mile and a half west of Maple Grove. I was appointed postmaster of Greenland postoffice by President Buchanan, just previous to the presidential election of 1860. I was notified by the democratic committee of Detroit to contribute \$25 to the campaign fund of the party.

This request I answered by refusing, and stating that I proposed to vote and use my influence for the election of Abraham Lincoln. My letter was published, and, of course, my official head rolled into the democratic waste basket. It was not a terrible sacrifice, however, as the receipts of the office amounted to only about \$3 per quarter.

In September, 1860, Mr. Cash sold my claim to New York parties, who organized a mining company on it and named it Ogemaw (chief). I had worked it for two years with E. Holland, of Houghton, Michigan, as partner, and got out enough copper to make it pay us. I remained with the company as agent or superintendent of their mine until it closed down in 1868. In the spring of 1869 I came up to Duluth and made arrangements to build a store building at the corner of Fifth avenue west and Superior street, where the Spalding hotel now stands. This was the first building erected in what is the third division of Duluth after it was platted.

I was a resident of Ontonagon county twenty-five years, and in all my life I have never lived in a community so harmonious and composed of such trustworthy people. Among all the mine agents, mining captains, clerks, doctors and business men generally there were no cases of one trying to beat the other. Among those I distinctly remember were J. B. Townsend, Captain William Harris, Dr. Flanner, Chynouth of the National, Henry Buzzo of the Toltec, W. E. Dickinson of the Bohemian, Jason Hanna, S. S. Robinson, F. G. White, L. C. Patterson E. C. Sales, Captain E. Jennings, Captain Steven Partin, W. P. Spalding. Among



the merchants and business men of my kindest regard were W. M. Millar, James Morcer, C. G. Collins, James Carson, James A. Close, James Burton Shaw, L. M. Dickens, E. Sayles and William Condon, of Ontonagon; L. Stannard, B. T. Rogers, James E. Hoyt and James Harring, of Rockland.

In January, 1869, word was received that Mr. Cash was dangerously sick at Canandaigua, N. Y., and I hastened there to see him. I found his oldest son, D. G. Cash, and his daughter Agnes, at his bedside. He was alive when I arrived, but he passed away that night, January 29. The Masons turned out in force and attended his funeral and placed his body in a vault until the opening of navigation the next spring, when it was shipped to Ontonagon and laid at rest in a cemetery on his own farm. A monument of Duluth granite erected by his widow and children now marks his grave. He came of fighting stock. In 1835 his brothers George and John went from Towanda to Texas. George was killed with Crockett at the historic taking of the Alamo. John was taken prisoner at Fanning's defeat and drawing a black bean was shot. His oldest son, Major D. G. Cash, a well-known attorney of Duluth, was one of the first to enlist in Ontonagon county when the rebellion broke out.

In the summer of 1869 myself and my brother, I. C. Spalding, had erected a store building on the corner of Superior street and Fifth avenue west, where the hotel now stands. In the spring of 1870 I tore down a dwelling house at Ontonagon, I loaded it upon a steamer and brought it to Duluth, rebuilding it on the southwest corner of Second street and Fifth avenue west. In August of that year I moved into it with my family.

On the boat on which we came to Duluth were the two sweet singers from Buffalo, George Sherwood and F. McWharter, who regaled us with "Up in a Balloon" and other fine songs, and who with P. Doran and Frank Burke afterward formed Duluth's famous quartet. In the fall of 1870 I was elected an alderman and served during the building of the canal and dykes.

In 1873 the Jay Cooke panic hit Duluth hard and knocked the stuffing out of all her citizens and the city for a long time.

December 21, 1874, the Duluth & Iron Range railroad was incorporated. The incorporators were W. W. Spalding, C. Markell, C. P. Bailey, B. S. Russell; J. C. Hunter, L. Mendenhall, J. D. Enign, P. Mitchell, L. M. Dickens, J. B. Culver, George C. Stone, W. R. Stone and J. D. Howard. I was the first president, and continued in that capacity until 1883, when the organization was absorbed by a part of the members. I had organized

the company and selected the incorporators in the interests of an Ontonagon syndicate that had obtained large tracts of land near the Vermilion range, in 6-12 and 13. It was intended to build a road to get at these lands.

In 1876 the Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad company was incorporated, the incorporators and first board of directors being A. M. Miller, A. J. Sawyer, John M. Hunter, R. C. Mitchell, James Bardon, H. M. Peyton and W. W. Spalding. I was made president and continued to act as such until 1883. In November, 1881, ground was broken for the construction of the road by a Boston company to which we had disposed of the franchise. The agreement for the sale of our interests was made in the spring of 1881 with J. B. Billheimer acting for the Boston parties, among whom were H. J. Boardman, Captain Cooper and Charles W. Whitcomb. Emil Hartman was engineer and draughtsman. We were to receive \$30,000 in cash, \$100,000 in bonds and 1,500 shares of the capital stock of the company, but the Boston company failed and we got only a small part of what we were promised. The franchise afterward went into the possession of the Canadian Pacific Railroad company and the road was built by the North Star Construction company, of which Mr. Fisher, of St. Paul, was general manager. It is now owned by the Great Northern road, of which it is a part.

The swamp land grants to the Duluth & Iron Range Railroad company by act of the legislature approved March 9, 1875, were turned over to the Duluth & Winnipeg Railroad company by an act approved March 9, 1878.

October 1, 1874, the foundation was begun for a plow factory on the bank just west of where the union depot now stands. It was completed in the spring of 1875 and machinery installed, and plows were manufactured for about three years with some success. Then it burned down with no insurance, and we never rebuilt it. Between 1870 and 1880 I was for three years president of the St. Louis County Agricultural society, two years president of the chamber of commerce, one year secretary of the board of trade, and I was a director of the first blast furnace which was built on Rice's Point in 1873.

Owing to the scandal about the land office in 1881, I was appointed, without solicitation on my part, as receiver, with Judge Carey as register. It appeared that frauds in the pre-emption and homestead filings for pine lands had been the rule of the office. A public sale of land was held during the fall of 1882, and from this and other sources I took in during

the two years that I was in office as receiver over \$1,000,000, which went into Uncle Sam's treasury.

In 1884 I was turned out of office through the influence of parties whose enmity I had incurred by opposing certain fraudulent entries.

Ground was broken April 9, 1887, for building the Spalding hotel, and it was completed and opened for business June 10, 1889. The building is seven stories high, built of brownstone, brick and iron, covering a space 150 feet by 115 feet, and it cost \$350,000. Its beginning was the forerunner of the great boom in real estate of 1887 and 1888, and it raised and maintained the values for several blocks in its vicinity from 100 to 500 per cent. I was and still am president of the Spalding Hotel company.

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## THE MICHIGAN INDIANS.

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.

When civilization first entered Michigan, it met substantially the same conditions that confronted the English pioneers of Virginia and Massachusetts. They found a barbarous people that were as hopelessly unchangeable in their habits, as the river on their eastern border.

Civilization stands for a higher development of humanity. It is, when at its best, both progressive and aggressive. In its relations with the Indians it brings into its service larger resources, and better equipment, and its onward progress is irresistible. Whatever is found on its track to impede its progress must be removed or crushed. Hence one of two things must occur to the Indian. He must adopt the white man's methods, put on civilized garb and till the soil, or perish by inanition. There is no other alternative. Food is a necessity to every people. The support of civilized man comes from the tillage of the soil. He craves land. The Indian cares not for land, but to him a hunting ground is a necessity. Civilization can get, by the plow and hoe, more food from a square acre, than the Indian can get by the bow and arrow, from a square mile. The methods of the one fosters an increase of population, that of the other makes it impossible. These two conditions, side by side, cannot permanently endure. The tilled acres of the agriculturist contracts the area of the Indian's hunting ground. This creates an antagonism and a contest that uniformly results in the survival of the civil methods.

Sympathize, as we must, with the sufferings of the poor Indian, the results are as inevitable as the laws of gravitation.

The real historic period of the Michigan Indians, commences with the year 1641, when the first mission was established among them at Sault Ste. Marie. All claims of events prior to that date rests only upon pre-historic tradition. The history of the century succeeding that date, is meager and consists of the forming of new missions and military posts, the records of explorations along its borders and the narratives of traders and solitary wanderers among its wild tribes.

During the next century, the history becomes less obscure. Two, at least, of Michigan's tribes—the Ottawas and Chippewas, helped to swell the gathering hordes of savages at Fort Duquesne, by several hundred warriors, that aided in the defeat of Braddock. But the more prominent event of Indian history of that country, was the war known as the conspiracy of Pontiac.

Before recording the events of this and subsequent wars, in which the Indians enlisted, we will speak of the Indian population of our state and note their tribal relations.

#### SPARSE POPULATION.

No large tribe of Indians ever claimed Michigan as its home. Michigan was their hunting ground, but, with the exception of small and fragmentary tribes, it was never their domicile. Michigan lay midway between the Sioux on the west, and the Iroquois on the east. These were the dominant powers of the country east of the Rocky mountains. No tribe making any pretensions to great power, would be tolerated by either between the lakes for a single year. The Indian population of Michigan, when it became known to Europeans, is unknown. But it was not great, for no country populated by hunters can ever support a numerous people. Large population is only possible where food is abundant. There is a limit to the food products from the wilderness that is soon reached, as very few Indians ever till the soil. For this reason the American continent, from Point Barrows to Cape Horn, was always thinly populated. In the palmiest days of the Indian occupation of Michigan, a man might travel many days in succession, through its forests without meeting a human face or a human habitation. In 1680, La Salle led a band of Frenchmen through Michigan, from the mouth of the St. Joseph, to the Detroit river, without seeing a human habitation, and but one small party of Indians.

In 1641, twenty years after the *Mayflower* cast her anchor in Plymouth harbor, two Frenchmen, Rambault and Jogues, penetrated the wilds of the upper lakes, till they reached Sault Ste. Marie. They were the first Europeans, so far as history informs us, that ever set their feet on Michigan soil. They established a mission among the Indians that occupied that locality, who called the name of their tribe Ojibways, but from a misunderstanding of the pronunciation of the name the French called it Chippewas, and they have been known by the two names since.

#### THE CHIPPEWAS.

The Chippewas then resided in scattered bands along the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Tradition said they came from the north shore of the St. Lawrence, above Quebec, and that they came as fugitives—fleeing before the fury of the Iroquois, at an early day. This was the most populous tribe that ever lived within Michigan territory since Michigan history became known. After the French war the Chippewas spread over the lower peninsula quite generally, some settled on the borders of Lake Erie. What their numbers were at that time, can only be conjectured, but in 1822, they numbered less than 6,000.

#### THE POTTAWATTOMIES.

Tradition says they, too, fled from Canada before the Iroquois, or other powerful tribe, in prehistoric days. In former times they occupied a large part of lower Michigan. About the close of the seventeenth century they were driven, by the Iroquois, north and west to Green Bay. But by the influence of the French, under whose jurisdiction they claimed protection, they were permitted to return and occupy southern Michigan, and northern Illinois and Indiana. They were generally hostile to our government. They fought with Pontiac, they shared the fate of the allied tribes in their defeat by General Wayne in 1794, and they fought with the British against us in the war of 1812-15. By successive treaties they sold their claim to lands in Michigan, and removed west, and now occupy lands in Kansas, unless removed in recent years.

#### THE OTTAWAS.

We first meet the Ottawas on the Manitouline Islands in Lake Huron, and on portions of the northern part of the lower peninsula of Michigan. After the destruction of the Hurons of Canada, in 1649, they fled to Green Bay in abject fear of the Iroquois. Deeming themselves unsafe there, they fled across the Mississippi to the Sioux. Unable to live in peace with the Sioux, they returned and settled again in the northern

part of the lower peninsula of our state. After the settlement of Detroit, a colony of Ottawas settled in its vicinity. Pontiac, author of the conspiracy that bears his name, was a chief of this tribe. He had a home in one of the small islands of the river above Detroit. At this time the population of the tribe numbered about 1,500, a portion of which lived in Ohio. In after years, a remnant of this tribe united with the Chippewas, and now share their home in northern Michigan, where they numbered by the United States census in 1890, 6,991, and by our state census of 1894, 6,760.

#### EACH INDIAN HAS A HOME.

Pursuant to a request of some of these Michigan Indians, the government, in 1854 and 1855, gave lands in severalty, to such of them as chose to accept it, each male head of a family over 21 years of age, and each single man of like age, could choose and occupy from forty to eighty acres and receive a government title to the same, with such restrictions to the right of selling same as would secure them from loss by wily and dishonest purchasers. By these treaties, the government also agreed to furnish interpreters, mechanics, farmers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cattle and agricultural implements, also means for the support of missions, and schools, and sometimes for the services of physicians. Under the inspiration that these facilities furnish, many of the Indians have laid aside their rude habits and customs, dissolved their tribal relations, wear citizens' garments, speak the English language, are gaining industrious habits and good citizenship, and are making good progress towards civilization. This is a new enterprise,—an experiment by the government, and it has worked as satisfactory as the conditions would justify.

Our state has also invested such Indians as have abolished their tribal relations and possess the other qualifications of citizenship, with the elective franchise, on an equality with all other citizens. They are now competent to vote, and be voted for, for any office in the government.

The great body of the Ottawas found homes in the Indian territory, where they became so much reduced in numbers, that in 1875, they numbered but 142. Their bravery was never above suspicion. Appleton says they were "great cowards."

#### THE HURONS, OR WYANDOTS.

The advent of this tribe to our state was of more recent date than that of any of the others mentioned and its history is better known. They were a fragment of the once populous tribe of Hurons, that dwelt

along the southern shore of Georgian Bay in Canada. They spoke a language allied to that of the Iroquois, and they were supposed to be allied in blood to that tribe. In efforts to christianize this people, the French Jesuits exhausted their skill and resources during the early years of the seventeenth century. Jean d Brabeuf, Gabriel Lallamont and others associated with them, threw their whole souls into the work. Never was greater patience and perseverance bestowed with less encouraging results. Their efforts did not cease till the nation ceased to be. With the downfall of the tribe, these priests fell into the hands of their Iroquois enemies, and with the most undaunted composure, they suffered death by the most savage torture. The Hurons seem to have been a quiet people, who desired to live in peace with their neighbors. But they occupied an adjacent country, and the Iroquois, Alexander like, were unwilling that any other tribe should maintain an existence, where their prowess could prevent it. With an intolerant hatred, they determined that the Hurons should be destroyed. Year after year, they sent out their armies, with varying success, against them, till in 1649, in the depths of winter, they succeeded in capturing some of their strongest villages. The Hurons then lost heart, and they were subjected to indiscriminate slaughter. A remnant fled to the islands of the bay, from which a part, aided by the priests, made good their escape to Loretto, near Quebec, where their descendants now reside. The balance, principally belonging to that part of the Huron tribe known as the Tobacco branch, for a time occupied St. Joseph island, where some starved to death, and others perished by disease and privation. Thence they went to the Manitouline Islands. Then, under the name of Wyandots, they went to Michilimackinac, where they were joined by the Ottawas, who had been driven by fear of the Iroquois, from the western shores of Lake Huron, and from the banks of the Ottawa. At Michilimackinac the Hurons and their allies were again attacked by the Iroquois, and after remaining several years, they made another remove, and took possession of the islands at the mouth of Green Bay of Lake Michigan. Even here their old enemy did not leave them in peace, whereupon they fortified themselves on the main land, and afterwards they migrated southward and westward. This brought them in contact with the powerful tribe of the Illinois, and they could not remain there, and they continued their migrations westward till they reached the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Sioux. They soon quarreled with them, and were driven from their country. They then retreated to the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior, and settled on Point Saint Esprit or Shagwamigon Point,

near the islands of the Twelve Apostles. As the Sioux still continued to harass them, they returned to Michilimackinac, and settled on Point St. Ignace. The greater part of them, in 1680, removed thence to Detroit and Sandusky where they lived under the name of Wyandots. (Jesuits of N. Am. p. 425-6.)

The Wyandots possessed a higher culture than most people of their race.

Judge Felch says of them, that they were "a people who had made further advances than any of the other tribes, towards the sedentary and industrial habits of civilized life." And Mr. Parkman says of those at Detroit, that "by their superior valor, capacity and address, they soon acquired an ascendancy over the surrounding Algonquin tribes."

#### HOSTILITY OF THE MICHIGAN INDIANS.

The four tribes of our state generally lived in harmony with each other. They unitedly fought in a common cause, first against England and with the French, in the war of 1755-60, then in the Pontiac war of 1763 against the English and then for the English against the Americans, during the revolution and the war of 1812-15.

There was a loose confederacy that bound all the tribes of the northwest together in a common cause against the aggressive settlers. And whenever any cession of lands was under contemplation, several tribes were generally represented, and few treaties were made that several, sometimes many, tribes were not parties to them.

Michigan pioneers were never seriously annoyed by Indian depredations. The great body of the Indians were removed to the west before the pioneers came.

#### INDIAN TREATIES AND CESSION OF LANDS.

Without being exact about the definition of lines, the Michigan lands were ceded by the Indians as follows:

First, By the treaty of Detroit, by Governor Hull, with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots and Pottawattomies, in 1807, all that part of Michigan lying east and south of a line commencing at the southwest corner of Lenawee county, thence north to near the middle of Shiawassee and Clinton counties, thence to White Rock, near the southeast corner of Huron county.

Second, By the treaty of Saginaw, by Governor Cass, in 1819, with the Chippewas, all east of an angling line (except former cession), drawn from near Kalamazoo, to near the northwest corner of Oscoda county, thence to near Alpena.



Third, By the treaty of Chicago, by Governor Cass and Solomon Sibley, in 1821, with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, all not heretofore ceded south of Grand river.

Fourth, By the treaty of Washington, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, with the Ottawas and Chippewas, all that remained of the lower peninsula, not before ceded, being the northwest portion thereof.

The Indians made many reservations in the lands thus ceded, but space will not permit a description of them here. These amounted in the aggregate to several hundred thousand acres. Most of these have been ceded to the government by subsequent treaties.

#### THE PONTIAC WAR.

We will now resume the history of the hostile attitude of the Michigan Indians, since the English occupation of Detroit.

Quebec was captured by the English on September 9, 1759. In 1760 Major Rogers, with a military force, was sent to take possession of Detroit and Michilimackinac. On his way, traveling along the south shore of Lake Erie, on November 7th, he was met by Pontiac with some of his Ottawas who demanded to know of his mission, and why he came without consulting him. With difficulty he was pacified, and persuaded to accompany the major to Detroit. Rogers took possession of Detroit, November 29, 1760.

The Indians were not reconciled to the change. They held a strong attachment to the French, and a strong dislike to the English. This dislike and the reason for it was told to Alexander Henry, a trader at Michilimackinac, in 1761, by Manavavanna, a Chippewa chief as follows:

"Englishman, you know that the French king is our father, and we are his children. Although you have conquered the French, you have not conquered us. Our father, the French king employed our young men to make war upon your nation. Your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us. Wherefore he and we are still at war, and until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father or friend among the white men than the king of France."

And such was the attitude of other tribes in reference to the change of masters.

The war that soon broke out, was not a war of Indians against white men, but a war of the Indians against Englishmen, and as the Indians believed, in support of the French king. During the whole of the Pontiac war, no Frenchman was molested. Though they were settled in Detroit and vicinity, and the Indians were camped all about them, they lived in amicable relations with them.

Pontiac, at the time of the outbreak, was about 50 years of age. He was an Ottawa chief and son of an Ottawa chief, by a Chippewa mother. He had just laid down his arms at the close of the French war. His services were so valuable to the French, that Montcalm, just before the close of the war, presented him a complete uniform of a French officer which he wore on occasions when he wished to assume especial dignity.

In 1761, before the English had been in possession of Detroit a year, a conspiracy was nearly completed, concocted by the Senecas, to unite all the Indian nations to strike a blow against all the western posts held by the English. The English detected the plot and it failed. During the next summer, another similar plot was detected and frustrated.

Early in 1763, it was announced that the French had surrendered their entire possessions in America to England, without consulting the Indians. This was followed by a burst of indignation from the Indians, and "within a few weeks" says Parkman, "a plot was matured, such as was never before nor since concocted or executed by a North American Indian."

This plot comprehended the capture at one fell swoop, of all the military posts in western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan, and including Niagara. To do this required the concentrated efforts of all the Indian tribes within the territory where the posts were located. And Pontiac found means to accomplish it all. The plot was to be executed that same year, 1763.

Detroit being considered of greatest importance, its capture was assigned to Pontiac himself, and it is worthy of notice that, with the exception of Fort Pitt, Detroit was the only post where his plot failed. The Fort of Detroit was occupied by Major Gladwin with a garrison of 128 men and a few fur traders. Gladwin learned of the conspiracy on the evening of the 6th of May, and it was to be sprung on him the next morning. He immediately prepared to meet the wily chief at his coming.

St. Joseph, a small post at the mouth of the river of that name, garrisoned by fifteen men, was captured on May 25th and eleven of its men were slain. The commander and three of the men were taken prisoners, and subsequently exchanged at Detroit for Indian prisoners that Gladwin held. The post at Michilimackinac was taken on June 2d by the Chippewas, and fifteen of its garrison butchered. Captain Etherington and the rest of his men were taken prisoners. Five of these prisoners were afterwards murdered. The Ottawas of that vicinity, were offended that they were not invited to assist in the capture of the fort, and they demanded and received the prisoners, whom they subsequently delivered

to Lieutenant Gorell, who, with the forces from Green Bay were on the retreat to Montreal, where they all arrived in due time. Sault Ste. Marie, the only other Michigan post had, the previous year, been partly destroyed by fire, and the garrison had been temporarily withdrawn.

The siege of Detroit was beset with difficulties, though not a very bloody one. Space will not permit the rehearsal of its entire history here.

From the 7th of May, Detroit was closely invested by the combined armies of the several tribes, and every energy was put forth, that savage ingenuity could devise, for its capture, till the following autumn. Such an investment and siege, for a period of six months, is unparalleled in Indian warfare. The siege was raised in November. But from that time forward, for half a century, the Indians were frequently arrayed in hostile attitude against the whites.

Only a few years, however, had rolled along, ere the Indians realized that all their hopes of help from their father, the king of France, were vain, and before our revolution they had changed front, and accepted the king of England as their father. They fought with the English against the patriot army during the revolution, they raised the war whoop at the defeat of General Harmer in 1790, and the defeat of General St. Clair in 1791, and they suffered defeat at the battle of Miami, by General Wayne in 1794. They were again defeated by General Harrison, at Tippecanoe in 1811, and yet again two years later at the battle of the Thames. They had now lost the prestige of victory. Their star had set in Michigan forever. They in later years, gave some local trouble, here and there, but there was no further danger of a general Indian war.

#### RETROSPECTIVE.

A more specific record of some of the events that occurred during the settlement of this northwest territory seems important.

In the negotiations for peace between the United States and England, in 1783, the Indian tribes had been ignored, and they felt slighted and became restive and threatening. By that treaty England should have surrendered the posts along the borders, but Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and some minor posts were retained. This gave the Indians an occasion to hope, and the English encouraged that hope, that the war would soon be resumed, and they could yet be revenged on the Americans whom they hated. In 1784, a treaty was made with the six nations at Fort Stanwix, by which the confederacy relinquished all claim to a large tract of western lands to the United States. But other tribes claimed

an interest in these lands, and were unwilling to assign. In December, 1786, a grand council of Indians was held at the Huron village, at the mouth of the Detroit river, at which all the four Michigan tribes were represented. In an address to the United States, they asked that another grand council be held, and that the United States should be represented, and that in the meantime, the United States should prevent surveying parties and other people from coming to the Indian side of the Ohio river. They wished the Ohio river to be fixed as the permanent boundary to their country. This proposed grand council was never held. But settlers continued to intrude on Indian lands, which exasperated the Indian population and brought on hostilities.

In 1791, General Harmer was sent to defend the settlers and chastise the Indians. He was ambushed and defeated. In 1793, General St. Clair was sent for the same purpose. He, also was surprised and defeated. After his defeat, persistent efforts were made by President Washington, for peace. In March of that year, the president sent Messrs. Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering, as commissioners to negotiate a peace. But the Indians, with the prestige of victory upon them, were confident of securing their own terms, and they persisted in their demands that the Ohio river be made a boundary line, beyond which no white man should go. But the time had passed for drawing such a line. Too many white settlers had already passed that boundary. Notwithstanding their persistence, a treaty was nearly concluded when negotiations were abruptly closed, on the part of the Indians, through British influence. This effort for peace was followed on August 20th, 1794, by the utter defeat and rout of the Indians by General Wayne.

British influence with the Indians as against the United States, did not cease with this. Lord Dorchester made a speech to the Indians, in which he urged them to insist on the Ohio river as a boundary. And Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, of Canada, in their interest, erected a fort on the Miami river in Ohio. Of these unfriendly acts, President Washington said in a letter to Mr. Jay, "There does not remain a doubt that all the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country." These unfriendly acts were continued long after the close of the war of 1812-15. They even set up a claim that under the provisions of the treaty of Ghent, the Michigan Indians had a right to look to them for protection. And annually, till 1839, they invited the Michigan Indians to Canada to receive presents. In September, 1829, the Canadian Colonial Advocate,

announced that sixty tons of Indian presents were on the way to Amherstburg and Drummonds Island.

As a timid boy, during the thirties, the writer well remembers the consternation he experienced, in going to and from school, on occasions of meeting bands of Indians going to Canada to receive presents. After 1839, our Indians were promised presents only on condition of their removing to Canada.

#### REFLECTIONS.

We cannot read the records of these border wars, without emotions of sympathy going out for these simple children of the forest, in their earnest efforts to defend their homes. The tribes of our northwest territory, had in council, united in the demand, that the Ohio river should be made the boundary of their country. They asked that no white man be allowed to settle across that line. They wished to be let alone where they were. They fully realized that if the white man did come, they must inevitably go, and they said, there was no place where they could go. They could not go to the west, for the country there produced no more food than its people needed. Their demand seemed just and their pleas were reasonable. Their story was true and pitiable. The white man had no such reasons to urge. There was in their case no present necessity. They had vast tracts of unoccupied and fertile lands beyond the Ohio, sufficient for their needs for an indefinite future. What need, then, for this cruel act of injustice? It is a feeble justification to say they bought the Indians' claim to the lands. Had the Indians been free to sell, this reply would be conclusive. But we know that in the land disputes with the Indians, white men generally were the aggressors, by intruding upon the Indians' lands, and spoiling their hunting grounds, and when they resented the trespass and tried to drive out the intruders, the government sent its armies to protect the settlers and chastise the Indians. By this policy the Indians became the victims, and they sold their lands under duress.

Now this is the statement of the Indian's side. Most questions have two sides, and this is no exception. The parties to this great controversy, are civilized men and savages. The Indians had occupied this country many thousands of years. They had not during that occupancy, improved the country or its resources. They possessed no history. Their progress during the ages had been inconspicuous. Their inventions were of the most primitive sort, and may be summed up by naming the bow and arrow, rude pottery, and the tanning of skins for clothing. They had built no cities, monuments, or permanent dwellings.

Their country was wild and had not, apparently, been changed for many thousands of years. When Scipio destroyed Carthage, and when the northern hordes destroyed Rome, they each left ruins, and desolation behind. Not so the white man, when he took possession of the Indian's hunting grounds. He created no ruins, for the Indian had constructed nothing that could be converted into a ruin. But he found a desolation, and upon that he built cities and homesteads, and erected upon the forest covered grounds a magnificent civilization that has never been surpassed by any people.

Could the white man have saved the Indian? It was not desirable to save him as a savage, and his persistent intractableness rendered nugatory all efforts for a higher culture. He had nothing in his manners, habits, or general culture, that civilization needed to learn. His salvation could be wrought out only by himself. The white man brought to him civilization, a higher manhood, and asked him to accept it. Never before was such an opportunity presented to his race. It should have constituted an inspiration to help him up to a higher manhood. But he would have none of it. He despised it. He rejected it. He fought it, and sealed his doom.

There is a serious question whether any people have a moral right to permanently occupy lands which they do not use, to the exclusion of those who would utilize them for the good of humanity, whether civilized man should recognize the right of an unprogressive, savage race, to permanently cover a continent. Civilization and savagery cannot co-exist side by side.

But we will not attempt to solve this problem. It is one of the problems of human development, that seems insoluble. There is a law that proclaims the survival of the fittest. It sometimes seems cruel, but it is the fiat of unchangeable law. In the great drama of humanity, the impulse to move in evolutionary lines is irresistible. We do not know its rationale, but we can trace its results.

We know that the world of humanity has been elevated in the scale of true excellence because of the removal of the savage. Our state now supports a population of about two and a half millions, where the Indian population probably never much exceeded 10,000. Now we have 250 children of civilization who are warmly clothed and housed, with food enough and to spare, where before there was but one Indian, poorly clad, without a home, and who sometimes went hungry.

The world is now the better by so much as civilization is superior to savage life,—by as much as a higher culture is superior to grossness,—

by as much as the protection of life, liberty and property is better than an irresponsible government that protects nothing,—by so much as education, intelligence, and morality, is superior to ignorance, grossness and superstition,—and by so much as a country filled with a vast aggregate of industries, and industrious people, is superior to a race of warriors, hunters and fishers, who despise all industrious occupations.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, January 17, 1900.

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## THE PIONEER AND HIS WORK.

BY MELVIN D. OSBAND.

The morning sun that ushered in the seventeenth century shone upon an unbroken wilderness over the entire expanse of our broad domain. No child of civilization had ever yet penetrated its dark forests.

Except a few bands of Spanish free-booters, under De Soto, Coronado, and a few others, whose culture in many respects was but little removed from the savages whom they exploited, no European had ever trodden its soil. It was then peopled from ocean to ocean by barbarians. While the century was yet young a few pioneers from England located on its eastern border. Some of them had fled from the tyranny of their own country to brave the perils of this. The country was new and of unknown extent. They knew not its surface, its climate, or its products. They knew not the manners, customs, or culture of its people, and the pioneers were 3,000 miles from their base of supplies. They had come to win their bread from the soil, and to convert the wilderness into farms. Their necessities compelled them to battle with climatic conditions, with wild beasts, and with wild men. They soon learned that the wild men constituted the most serious factor in their environment.

When civilization comes into contact with races of low culture a clash is inevitable. The one almost universal cause of disagreement between the white man and the Indian in our country has originated by the invasions of white settlers upon Indian hunting grounds. The majority of our Indian wars have arisen from this one cause, whether it was the conflict between Captain John Smith and Powhattan in Virginia, or that wherein the Puritans exterminated the Pequods in Connecticut in the seventeenth century, or that of the Indians of our northwest territory and the intruding settlers in the eighteenth century, or the wars prosecuted on our western frontier by General Crookes and others

in recent years. Because of this oneness of the underlying cause of these contests, I have opened this paper with the advent of the white man in his first grapple with the savage on our eastern frontier.

The Indian lived upon the products of the chase. Their population was therefore small. Large populations are only possible where food is abundant. There is a limit to the quantity of food derived from the chase, and it cannot be increased by any process other than agriculture.

As to the sparseness of population in countries inhabited by a race of hunters, history furnishes an abundant evidence, especially in our own country. Mr. Schoolcraft estimates that among the Indians of the north-west every hunter, with those dependent upon him, requires 50,000 acres (a little more than two entire townships) for his support. The population of the Hudson bay territory is estimated to average but one to ten square miles. The Iroquois confederacy constituted the most populous and formidable nation of Indians of which we have any record. They were the scourge of the nations surrounding them. Their war parties could be met on the shores of Hudson bay. They fought on the banks of the Mississippi, they dominated the Ohio valley and they subjugated the tribes of Carolina. And yet there is scarcely a county in New York, their old home, that does not now support a population of five times the number that the Iroquois could boast in their best days—say about 1,680. The highest estimates of their combined armies was 2,000 to 2,600 men, indicating an entire population of, not to exceed 10,000 to 12,000, or about one Indian to four square miles, on the supposition that they occupied an area equal to that of the state of New York.

From these facts we are prepared for the statements of Parkman and other historians, that when America first became known to Europeans the whole of Vermont, New Hampshire and western Massachusetts had no human tenant but the roving hunter and the prowling warrior. Connecticut, west of its chief river, was but thinly populated. From Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence there was no population worthy of the name. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario the southern bank of the great river was occupied only by hunters. On its north bank its solitude was seldom interrupted below Quebec. Above, at Three Rivers, a few Algonquins might be met, and at Montreal, during a brief time in the trading season of early summer, many savages from the surrounding country assembled. The solitudes on both sides of the Ottawa for three hundred miles were broken only by the splash of the paddle and the tread of the hunter. A few Indians made their homes on Allumet Island, and at Lake Nipissing lived another band. Circling around



the south end of Georgian bay, the traveler would meet the Hurons. A great part of Michigan and Illinois were tenanted only by wild beasts. The whole of Kentucky was a vast hunting and skirmishing ground for savages. On the shores of the great Ohio no tribe dwelt. Why these great areas without inhabitants, and why was not Michigan as densely populated then as now? They simply mean that the country immediately surrounding the tribal homes of the Indians was insufficient to supply them with food, and that these uninhabited areas were their outlying fields from which to draw further supplies.

Bread and butter is an essential factor in every population. A limited supply of food was a fatal condition in the Indian regime. It was an evil hour for him when civilization first invaded his domain. The white man came in his own personal interests. He designed no evil to the Indian. In fact he came fully determined to treat him as a brother, and to help him climb up to civilization. His experiences soon convinced him that he had undertaken a task for which he was in no way equipped. Neither party understood the other. Each had interests that the other antagonized. And just here is found the underlying principles that have for 300 years been working the destruction of the Indian race. Progress in civilization involves the tilling of the ground. This means the destruction of the Indian's hunting ground, and with it goes the old environment, characteristic of the Indian race, and to which he was adjusted, and his supply of food is cut off. New conditions admonish him to change habits and till the soil. But his congenital habits, transmitted by a thousand generations of ancestors, in most cases have become so firmly fixed that they seem incapable of adjustment, and they perish.

Where now lies the responsibility for the passing away of the Indian race? The Europeans came among them to make for themselves homes. We will not discuss their right to do so. But the sequel proves that once here the Indian was doomed to go.

But the question is pertinent, should not the barbarian have been civilized? Most certainly; if possible. But could not the Europeans who came among them have effected their civilization? They certainly could not. They did not know how. They were not properly equipped. They had no conception of the factors involved in the problem. Our people now have nearly three hundred years' experience with these red men, while those Europeans had none. We have larger experiences with races of low culture and a broader knowledge of human nature in general and better appliances, and yet with all these appliances we have

utterly failed to lead a single tribe up to civilization. They have uniformly antagonized every effort made toward an adjustment to their changed condition. Not till their numbers had become so reduced, and the area of their habitation so restricted that our government could force a recognition of its superiority upon them, have they given any favorable response to our efforts to lead them up to a higher culture. Today a few remnants of tribes in the southwest, and some in our own state, are making commendable efforts to climb upwards to civil life. And with the aid our people are extending to them they seem likely, at some future time, to worthily represent an improved race of red men.

Thinking men today recognize evolution as the system of philosophy that solves the problem of universal development. It means growth, and growth is effected by an adjustment to existing conditions. By this philosophy forms of life that are adapted to their environment live and flourish, while those that fail of such adjustment are dropped out and are known no more. The huge reptiles, birds and mammals of tertiary times became extinct because the changes that are constantly occurring in the earth's surface had so changed their environment as to make it unfavorable for their continued existence, and they were unable to adapt themselves to their new conditions. In all succeeding times, including our own, forms of life are continually passing away for the same reason. Our world is better because of these changes, notwithstanding the failure of so many of its organisms. These changes have, all down the ages, been unceasingly adapting the earth to higher forms of life. Evolution is written on every line of the world's history, and man as one of the factors of that history can claim no exceptions in his favor in its workings. The survival of the fittest is just as applicable to man as to the pre-historic saurian. If he fails to adjust himself to the conditions that environ him, future ages will number him with the mastodon and the epiornis.

We have seen that civilized man, by his agricultural industries, destroys the Indian's hunting grounds. Civilization cannot live without it. The Indian cannot live with it. The two are irreconcilable. This raises the question as to whether man has a right to develop civilization. Is human progress an inalienable right? Has humanity a right to grow? Must the soul of civilized man become dwarfed that the already dwarfed Indian soul may survive in its grossness? To change the form of the question, "Is not soul-growth an imperative human duty?" Should not man develop civil life, utilize the soil, cultivate the arts and sciences, morality and religion? These rights and duties involve the use of the

necessary means, and whatever throws itself across the track of progress must be removed or crushed.

The white man may have no more rights than the red man. But the civilized man recognizes more rights, and has greater responsibilities than the savage man, because the structure of civil society is more complex, has a better adjustment to the conditions of life, and involves higher duties and obligations than the savage. When the Indian chooses to put off his savage garb, take up the plow and the hoe, and by them earn his bread, he too will acquire the additional rights and obligations of civil life, and both races will live and prosper. There is land enough for all. If he fails to do that he must go under, for his hunting ground is spoiled and he can no longer live by the chase. He must drop out of existence as effectually as did the huge dinosaurs of pre-historic times. There is no other alternative. He will go by the operation of laws that transcend those of human legislation, and are as unchangeable as the laws of gravitation. The Indian, therefore, if he goes, is himself responsible for his own disappearance. He is equally unfortunate, whether he would and could not, or whether he could and would not conform to his changed condition.

The white man is responsible for the unnecessary cruelty and injustice he has inflicted on the Indian, but these, while they have probably hastened the result, have not made it more certain.\*

Before the pioneers of Michigan arrived in any considerable numbers the Indians had principally gone, and our rural districts were not seriously annoyed by their presence. The early settlement of the territory had been seriously delayed by gross misrepresentations of our lands. By dishonest or ignorant persons it was made to appear, that the whole interior of the territory was one vast morass, interspersed by worthless sand hills. President Madison was assured by his commissioner of the land office that "scarcely one acre in a thousand was fit for cultivation." For this reason our state was not seriously invaded by the axe and the plow until about 1830. Detroit had then been settled about 130 years, and then had a population of but little more than 2,000.

#### MICHIGAN PIONEER SOCIETY.

When the Michigan Pioneer Society was organized it gathered to itself a corps of historians. Every member was a historian, who possessed just such historic information as the society needed. Each and every person who subscribed to our constitution knew some facts of Mich-

\*Some very respectable authorities assert that the Indian race is not dying out, but is gradually adjusting itself to its changed conditions and giving promise of ultimate survival. But the evidences at hand do not seem to justify that claim.

igan history that nobody else knew, and if he or she should pass away without telling it no one else ever would know it. To pick up, compile and preserve such items was the society organized. Our members were not all scholars. They could not all tell their experiences in the well rounded sentences of literary experts. But they could tell what they knew, in a manner to be understood, of their experiences in Michigan pioneering, and tell it from personal knowledge.

From the men and women here associated the society has secured a mass of historic matter of rare merit of which we are proud. And this matter has been put into durable form, in which it will pass down to posterity. To these records will the future historian resort to learn how Michigan was made and who made it.

The web of actual history has woven within itself every act of every person, and every event in every person's environment that in any manner affects humanity individually or socially. It is, perhaps, needless to say that no such history was ever written. Yet every history is made up of matter included in this definition. The historian, unable to record the whole, selects from the mass before him such matter as his wisdom dictates.

Michigan has not developed all of her institutions and valuable belongings. Many of them came to us by inheritance. Our common law and our jurisprudence came from the mother country. Our religious liberties were developed in our own country by the pioneers on our eastern borders. Maryland first announced complete religious toleration, and Rhode Island added to it a complete separation of church and state. Our liberal schools and our love of learning are inherited from our fathers. But it has been our privilege, as well as our pride, to cherish all of these and give them the test of our experience, and to add to them new embellishments. Our pioneers were progressive people. They were never satisfied with the conditions their fathers left to them, but were ever on the alert to improve and make them better. By their energy and wise legislation they encouraged such enterprises and industries as developed our resources.

A country's history is imbedded in her laws, institutions and in the culture of her people. One of our most eminent scientists and historians recently said that "To discover a great truth usually requires a succession of thinkers." What is true of science is equally true in jurisprudence. Our laws of today have been evolved from the crude conceptions of ancient lawmakers before the dawn of written history. They are not yet perfect. An erring people cannot formulate unerring laws. Per-

fection may never crown human efforts in any direction. We can safely predict that in the ages to come, as man shall evolve towards his ultimate destiny, his efforts will still be directed towards a better adjustment of laws to human conditions. Our laws are improvements upon those of our fathers, so those of the future will be improvements upon ours.

Today our boast is that we have a legal protection to life, liberty and property; we aim at equality of opportunity for all, and all are equal before the law. Through industry and economy our people are supplying our current necessities and accumulating wealth. Wealth is stored labor, and is the product of energy aided by wise economy. The conditions for the acquisition of wealth are open to all. It is not true, as some flippantly charge, that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer, but the conditions of all are improving. True, some men get rich while others remain poor, but all and each prosper in proportion to the amount of wisdom and energy they put forth.

The reputation of our Senator Chandler was that he commenced in poverty and rose to wealth. This is the history of a large proportion of our wealthy men. But our laws did not favor Mr. Chandler any more than the man who blacked his boots. There are some things that laws cannot do. They cannot give business ability to any man, neither can they give energy and enterprise to a sluggard. Mr. Chandler possessed the ability to see and seize opportunities for making money as they were presented to him, and to use them for his advantage, and he got rich. His bootblack lacked this ability, and remained poor.

Our laws and institutions encourage enterprise. Enterprise and hard work produce wealth and develop our resources, and nothing else will. The men who develop our country's resources are making the world better and aiding the upward trend of humanity.

We can, some of us, remember when civilization practically did not exist west of our eastern border, and when the country from Detroit to Puget sound was one vast, unbroken wilderness, inhabited by wild beasts and wild men. Detroit was then but a small French town on the outskirts of civilization. Those were the days before friction matches, percussion caps, carpeted floors, and rubber overshoes. It was before the advent of the cooking stove, when our mothers used to sweat and burn their faces and arms over the open fire in cooking our dinners.

In those days the rough log house held undisputed sway. We can vividly recall the one room of that structure we called our home that served for kitchen, dining room, parlor and bedroom, and sometimes for a

shop for a carpenter or shoemaker. We then carted our grain to mill and the family to church behind ox teams. We had none of the labor saving machines of after times to lighten our toil. We planted, hoed and harvested our crops by hand, among the stumps, and threshed our grain with flails and winnowed it by the primitive grain fan.

We remember our journeyings in our child life through the forests following the blazed trees, and how we trembled in consternation when we saw signs that a wolf or bear might be near. And not seldom did we spring to one side to avoid a massasauga lying near our pathway.

Our memory also reaches back to the time when we were seated in the primitive schoolhouse on rough benches without backs, where we learned to read, and to the board desks fastened against the wall where we learned to write on coarse, unruled paper, with goose quill pens.

And when we, to save the tallow dips, used to study our lessons and read the books from our scanty libraries by the light from the open fireplace.

We also recall the advent of the threshing machines, cultivators, mowing and reaping machines. And we remember the consternation created in the minds of some people at their introduction. Men claimed that they would inevitably drive laboring men to the wall. Some destroyed or disabled the machines that threatened them with starvation. These machines, they said, did the work that men needed to do to support their families. Railroads, they said, drove teamsters and stage coaches from the road and destroyed the farmers' market for oats, corn, hay and horses.

But as the years rolled on these labor-saving machines have been multiplied by thousands in every line of industry, and they do the work of millions of men. But during this time new enterprises and new fields of labor have opened, and now, in this closing year of the century, a larger percentage of laboring people are earning wages, and at advanced prices, than in any other period of our history. In this connection another fact is developed that in the evolution of humanity is important. These changes in the methods of doing our work have produced an enlargement of human intelligence. The growth of the soul is secured by the accumulation of knowledge and experience. The acquisition of ideas makes larger and better men, and enlarges our conceptions of the world and of the universe. The invention and use of labor-saving machinery develops new ideas and gives new experiences. The men who work a cultivator, a reaper and binder, a power printing press, or run a railroad train are better men, with larger souls than they who know how to do the same

work only by primitive methods. The new methods require less muscle but more brains, less physical but more mental labor.

Today our log school houses have given place to better, and in some cases palatial structures, adapted to better methods of teaching, and our youth, without distinction of race, color, sex or social position are, without expense, given substantial rudimentary education in our public schools, while our university, normal schools, agricultural and denominational colleges furnish technical training to all who apply. The deaf and the blind are cared for and educated in institutions adjusted to their needs, and our other unfortunates are cared for in appropriate asylums at public expense. Our unfortunate poor, who are incapable of caring for themselves, are fed, warmed and clothed by public tax. Our people are protected against contagious diseases and other conditions injurious to health by rigid sanitation. Vicious youths of both sexes are restrained and cared for in institutions designed for their reformation and restoration to society, while adult criminals are, so far as possible, isolated from society in punitive institutions and subjected to influences calculated to aid their reformation.

Our various industrial and educational institutions have made the Michigan that our pioneers love just what it is, and they are not ashamed of their child.

#### CONCLUSION.

With the recollections of our early experiences fresh in our minds, we become bewildered at the changes we witness around us and are amazed at our own achievements, for these changes have been wrought by the muscles and brains of the pioneers. When we realize that there are persons sitting in this room today who have witnessed all these changes, that one life has seen the Michigan of the thirties, with her forests and lakes and the regions beyond, with scarcely a touch of civilized man about them, and that the same life can now gaze over the same regions, with the egis of our country's liberties spread over every acre of it, and that it is now spanned by numerous railroads and telegraphs, and dotted all over by cities and villages, farms, factories and mines, and swarming with a numerous, intelligent and happy population, we may surely be pardoned if we exhibit generous emotions of pride that we, the pioneers of Michigan, have made so large a contribution to the world's progress.

Grand Rapids, Michigan, March —, 1900.





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## GENERAL INDEX.

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